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JPRS Report

Africa (Sub-Sahara)

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Industrial Resumption, Growth Urged for Africa 34000360a London AFRICA ANALYSIS in English 22 Jan 88 p 4

[Text] Perhaps the safest generalisation about the economies of Africa is that their ability to satisfy the aspirations of their peoples depends on export performance. There is an intimate connection between the economic crises confronted in so many African countries and their inability to achieve dynamic export growth. And we would hear much less about a 'debt problem' had the export story been a different one.

Moving on to thinner ice with a further generalisation, underlying the failure of exports are, first, an inappropriate export structure and, second, past policy failures which prevented Africa from keeping up with Third World countries in Asia and Latin America.

This combination of factors has seen Africa's share of total developing country exports halved in the last 15 years.

Take first the question of structure. Of all the major developing regions, Africa is the most dependent on primary product exports, but these are of diminishing importance in world trade. Demand—never very dynamic—has slowed down; and, relative to manufactures, world commodity prices were last year lower than at any time this century.

This is partly because the industrial countries are now on a slower growth path, aggravated by the recession of the mid-80s. It is also due to shifts in the structures of demand and production in these countries—away from goods, in favour of services—and of changes within their industries which now require fewer commodity inputs for a given level of output.

The rampant protection of agriculture in the EEC, the USA and Japan has further harmed the interests of African exporters.

At the same time, there has been a tendency to oversupply these stagnant markets for primary products. African countries have responded to their payments difficulties—and to World Bank pressure—by trying to expand their output of traditional exports as the quickest-acting option open to them. Technological progress, notably the biotech revolution in agriculture, is also beginning to threaten the competitive strength of some African suppliers. These changes threaten to undercut the position of traditional products such as palm oil and groundnuts. There is even a danger that what used to be agricultural crops will become factory products manufactured in the West (e.g. cocoa, tobacco and pyrethrum).

As far as policy failure is concerned, Africa's continuing heavy dependence on export lines for which demand is stagnant itself suggests that all has not been well.

But perhaps the clearest evidence of the large scope for improvement is that even among primary product exports Africa's shares have been declining sharply, both in relation to world exports and exports from other developing regions. Currency over-valuation and adverse producer prices have, in the past, been among the main sources of this weakness.

Which way forward? Three possibilities suggest themselves: (a) to do better with commodity exports, to win back lost market shares and, perhaps, to diversify into other products; (b) to promote the development of non-traditional exports, especially manufactures and tourism; and (c) to increase self-sufficiency, both in food and manufactures.

The first of these has only limited potential, given the state of world commodity markets. It also involves the risk of generating further self-defeating falls in world prices. But for many of the poorest African countries there may be little realistic alternative, at least in the shorter term.

Option c) has limitations too, being confined to the potential of the domestic market—often very small. But there are possibilities, particularly in those formerly self-sufficient countries, like Nigeria, which have become dependent on imported foodstuffs.

Option b) perhaps has the greatest potential, notwithstanding protectionist tendencies in the West.

But industrial export markets are fiercely competitive. To thrive in them african industrial policy will have to pay more attention to efficiency, and industry must become more adaptable to changing market conditions. Benin perhaps points this way, having recently achieved dynamic export growth from its footwear industry.

Africa needs to resume its industrialisation. But this time its factories must be internationally competitive.

/12913

Loy's Status in MPLA Viewed 34420077i Lisbon AFRICA CONFIDENCIAL in Portuguese 22 Dec 87 p 9

[Text] The position of Pedro de Castro Van-Dunen, or Loy, as the second in command in Angola, has been further consolidated following the recent dismissal of Maria Mambo Cafe from the office of secretary for economic, social and productive affairs in the MPLA. It is still believed that the next step in his rise will most likely be appointment to the currently nonexistent post of prime minister.

Loy, as is generally known, already won a victory in the lofty power struggle between himself and Kito Rodrigues over who was to occupy the second place in the Angolan hierarchy. A short time ago he also managed to have Herminio Escorcio dismissed as director of Sonangol, which then shifted indirectly under his control.

He also managed to get a military man, Colonel Paulo Miguel Junior, considered to be his righthand man, appointed to Maria Mambo Cafe's post in the MPLA secretariat. Former administrator of the defense minister's office, Paulo Miguel Junior, 47 years of age, studied industrial accounting and planning in Romania between 1971 and 1975.

The differences of opinion between Loy and Mambo Cafe, both state ministers with fields of competence that clashed in the outermost points, were well known. The situation was aggravated by the fact that Loy, as state minister for production, was under Maria Mambo Cafe in the party hierarchy. Loy, however, has a higher position in the Politburo.

The dismissal of Maria Mambo Cafe (not very intelligent and well known for his orthodox approach to economic policy) became obvious when President Jose Eduardo dos Santos named Loy as the government official responsible for monitoring the SEF project (the two men are close relatives and are considered to be intimate friends). The normal procedure would have been to give that responsibility to Mambo Cafe, in view of the importance of his government post to the nation's economy.

Despite the political favor Loy is enjoying at present, a number of people have reason to believe that his victory over Kito Rodrigues will have increasing repercussions. According to some sources who know the ins and outs of the matter, which is still not clear, Kito Rodrigues (who has prestige among the military), continues to have a real influence in Angolan politics.

As interior minister, he carried out an in-depth reorganization of the headquarters of the police, the CPPA [Angolan People's Police Corps]. He chose as his police chief Adao da Silva, a person generally connected with the group of "Catetes." Moreover, two important members of this group, Roberto de Almeida and Mendes de Carvalho, are part of his circle of friends. The "Catetes" do not like Loy, despite the fact that he is from the same region.

Towards the end of November, diplomatic sources reported that Kito Rodrigues had discreetly left for the United States, but it was impossible to verify the report.

9805/08309

Kapanda Project Halted 34420077h Lisbon AFRICA CONFIDENCIAL in Portuguese 22 Dec 87 p 7

[Text] The Angolan Government has ordered the controversial Kapanda project to be "frozen." Although the decision, not announced publicly, was based on a need to re-evaluate the economic component of the project, it is believed that this is just the first step towards completely abandoning the project.

As a result of the Luanda government's decision—and the subject was discussed at length in the People's Assembly—work at the lumberyard has come to a halt and Angolan personnel are beginning to be dismissed. Project Director Jose Sonnemberg, known by the initials GAMEK, has already been relatively marginalized, and the deputy minister of energy has taken over actual management of the project.

The Kapanda dam project was awarded 3 years ago to a consortium made up of Norberto Odebrecht (a Brazilian company) and Technopromexport (a Soviet firm). The first was in charge of engineering and the second was to supply the equipment. The project was to cost around \$1 billion and be implemented over a period of 10 years.

Regarded by Angolan Government sectors as a "white elephant," unjustified for purely economic reasons (political views held sway), the actual field work was never able to get underway for security reasons. The region is a focus of UNITA activities. Hundreds of Brazilian technicians sent to Angola were never able to leave Luanda and Viana (where the lumberyards were located). The same thing happened with the equipment.

Despite the fact that construction never got underway, Angola had to pay about \$260 million in 1985-86, in financial charges incurred under contractual obligations (including damages). Angola's current inability to continue to pay these costs is why the project is on the verge of being suspended.

Moreover, the Kapanda project was one of the issues discussed by Soviet Minister of Foreign Affairs Edward Shevardnadze when he visited Brazil about 2 months ago. In addition to producing energy (considered unnecessary in view of the fact that the installed and installable capacity at Cambambe is underused), the project would also have an impact on agriculture and fishing.

The USSR's interest in the project stemmed not only from economic and political considerations, but also from the fact that they had been more or less tacitly given a concession to explore the rich mineral deposits of the Kapanda area, which were discovered back during the Portuguese administration. Kapanda is located about 400 kilometers from Luanda, in the middle of Kuanza.

In recent years the authorities have made various attempts to solve the security problems in the area, all to no avail. They even went so far as to consider plans to create an autonomous military force to form a "cordon sanitaire" around the entire project zone. All movements into and out of the zone were always by helicopter.

9805/08309

Embezzlement at Sonangol London Office Viewed 34420077f Lisbon AFRICA CONFIDENCIAL in Portuguese 22 Dec 87 p 5

[Text] Various types of "irregularities" amounting to over \$60 million were discovered during an investigation of the administration of Sonangol's London office (Sonangol Limited) over the past few years conducted by English auditors. In an immediate reaction to the investigation, the office's director, Fernando Pegado, was suspended.

Notified to return to Luanda, Fernando Pegado refused to do so. Moreover, the whereabouts of a Swedish expert in oil marketing, Stellan Luandqvist, a former commercial consultant at Sonangol Limited, are "unknown."

A report based on the conclusions of the investigation and prepared in Luanda by Kundi Palhama, state minister for inspection and control, insinuates that the "embezzlement" of the money at Sonangol "could only have been to finance counterrevolutionary activities."

Caught in a dispute between Sonangol's former director Herminio Escorcio and State Minister Mambo Cafe, Stellan Luandqvist was dismissed about a year ago. His fees (in arrears) were around \$1 million a year.

Funds from Sonangol's London office are also used to subsidize Angolan Security activities abroad, and to support pro-MPLA "lobbies."

9805/08309

Uige Provincial Commissar Accused of Irregularities 34420077g Lisbon AFRICA CONFIDENCIAL in Portuguese 22 Dec 87 p 5

[Text] Uige Provincial Commissar Zeferino Estevao Juliana is the target of an inquiry to investigate suspicions that he was involved in management irregularities discovered at UIGIMEX (a state enterprise that markets the coffee produced in the province).

Coffee in Uige (currently about 10 percent of 1973 production) is acquired by INTRACO by a "counter-trade" procedure. INTRACO in turn delivers to UIGI-MEX foodstuffs, equipment and clothing that goes to the coffee producers.

Zeferino Juliana has also been accused of being partly responsible for the negligence the government troops showed in guarding against and countering UNITA's attack at Maquela do Zombo in May of this year.

9805/08309

Bishop Condemns Religious Discrimination Under Marxism

34420077a Lisbon AFRICA CONFIDENCIAL in Portuguese 22 Dec 87 p 3

[Text] At the last Synod of Bishops in Rome, the Bishop of Uige, Francisco da Mata Mourisca, criticized a working paper that termed racial apartheid in South Africa an "urgent issue."

In his opinion, the world should also protest "religious apartheid" as practiced by Marxist governments against Christians. He even drew a parallel between this type of apartheid and the South African policy of racial segregation.

Without specifically accusing any country, the Bishop of Uige said that under Marxist and atheist regimes, Christians cannot be party members and that they therefore "do not have a say in determining their political future, they do not have access to government offices, and sometimes cannot teach at certain universities."

According to the Bishop of Uige (a Capuchin of Portuguese nationality), while the victims of racial apartheid number about 25 million, the victims of religious apartheid are much more numerous.

"It is time for the international community to use all available means to defend the millions of men and women who are condemned to live as second-class citizens because of their consciences, the most inviolable and sacred part of a human being," the prelate added.

9805/08309

Journalists Reportedly Killed by UNITA 34420077b Lisbon AFRICA CONFIDENCIAL in Portuguese 22 Dec 87 p 3

[Text] Two journalists from Angola Television, Isequiel Francisco and Policarpo Conceicao, were killed in Moxico Province when a military helicopter they were traveling in on a professional mission was shot down by UNITA forces.

The death of the two journalists was announced in the JORNAL DE ANGOLA without any additional explanation. But at the same time, and through generally used for this purpose, the government circulated the story that an accident had occurred when two helicopters collided in flight.

Isequiel Francisco, who was a little over 20 years old, lived with his mother and two young sons in Rangel, one of the most rundown districts in Luanda. In 1982 the authoritics refused him permission to leave the country on vacation for reasons regarded as "strange" at the time.

9805/08309

Accidents at Luanda Airport Cited 34420077c Lisbon AFRICA CONFIDENCIAL in Portuguese 22 Dec 87 p 3

[Text] There is very little doubt that the crash of a Red Cross "Hercules" plane about 40 kilometers outside the city of Kwito (formerly Silva Porto) on 14 October was caused by UNITA anti-aircraft artillery fire.

All the occupants, including the crew (six persons in all) died in the crash of the plane chartered by the Red Cross from Zimex Aviation in Switzerland to be used on missions to aid refugees in central Angola.

The plane, with registration number L-382-G, was shot down shortly after taking off from Kwito on a return flight to Benguela. On the morning of that same day, before leaving Benguela for Kwito, the crew had noticed that someone had tried to break in through the rear door of the aircraft, probably to steal food.

Meanwhile at Launda airport two airplane accidents occurred, one of which was quite serious. In one incident, a TAAG B-707 cargo plane taking off for Ostende had to abort its flight after its wheels had already been raised. When it hit the runway, the landing gear broke and the fuselage was damaged. The accident was apparently caused when improperly loaded freight pallets the plane was carrying shifted.

Another more serious accident occurred when an AN-26 military cargo plane crashed on take-off, immediately catching fire. It was carrying 20 tons of military supplies to Lwena, and all its crew members died.

9805/08309

Iko Carreira in Paris for Medical Treatment 34420077d Lisbon AFRICA CONFIDENCIAL in Portuguese 22 Dec 87 p 4

[Text] The Angolan ambassador to Algeria, Iko Carreira, was transferred to a Paris clinic where he is apparently recovering well from an acute thrombosis that occurred in the Algerian capital.

It was President Jose Eduardo dos Santos himself who ordered that he be transferred to Paris and made available to him the government's executive jet and a medical team to accompany him.

The gesture by Jose Eduardo dos Santos caught the MPLA's so-called "Algerians" (mestizos) by surprise, as they had fallen into disgrace and considered themselves to be marginalized by him. Iko Carreira is part of the "Algerians" group.

Also suffering from health problems described as complicated (heart and vision), Defense Minister Pedro Maria Tonha is undergoing tests and treatment in London.

9805/08309

Biographic Information on Alberto Neto FAPA/DAA Commander 34420077j Lisbon AFRICA CONFIDENCIAL in Portuguese 22 Dec 87 p 14

[Text] Alberto Correia Neto, a colonel in the Angolan Armed Forces and the commander of one of its main branches, FAPA/DAA (People's Air Force of Angola/Air Defense), which he founded with Dimbondua (a former guerrilla commander who has falien from grace), became a member of the MPLA-PT Central Committee at the December 1985 Congress and received the most votes of the current group of leaders after Jose Eduardo dos Santos, Rute Neto, Pedro Van-Dunem (Loy) and Joao Luis Neto Xietu.

His actual educational qualifications are a few courses of the 7th year of secondary school, which he never completed because he was taken prisoner by the PIDE [International Police for Defense of the State] in January 1970, and the dubious attendance of a course in economics in post-independence Angola.

A militant of the CRL (Luanda Regional Committee), a clandestine group that spread its anticolonial activities throughout Angola, Alberto Neto was captured on 25 April with most of his cohorts and sent to Tarrafal prison in Cabo Verde. Via Lisbon and Paris, he left in May for Brazzaville.

His arrival coincided with renewed dissension within the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola]. The crisis in the Angolan movement can be separated into three basic tendencies: the active revolt of Floribert Monimanbo, Gentil Viana and Mario de Andrade; Chipenda's revolt of the east; and, Agostinho Neto's so-called directorate. On the advise of former CRL compatriots (Juca Valentim and Jose Van-Dunem, who were in Brazzaville on a fact-finding mission as representatives of the MPLA militants within the country), Alberto Neto opted to support Agostinho Neto's group.

Shortly thereafter, in August of that year, 1974, he participated in an inter-regional conference of militants near Lundoji where his name was proposed for membership in the Central Committee. But he did not win election. The Maquisards claimed a majority of the 30 places in the MPLA Central Committee, and only Lopo do Nascimento, Herminio Escorcio, Jose Van-Dunem, Pedro Pacavira and Aristides Vandunem were elected from inside the country.

After Alvor and later Nakuru, prospects for future cooperation among the Angolan liberation movements were bleak. The MPLA began reorganizing its defense corps. At the suggestion of FAPLA's [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] national political commissar and member of the Chiefs of Staff, Jose Van-Dunem, a friend of Alberto Neto, he was appointed political commissar of the Southern Front, where he remained until the first major South African offensives. He was forced to abandon the Front when South Africa invaded in August 1975, and he took refuge in Luanda.

As FAPLA was still undergoing reorganization in August 1975, Alberto Neto was again in September 1975 proposed by Jose Van-Dunem for the post of political commissar of the Air Force being formed at that time.

In May 1977, when the first major post-independence crisis of the MPLA occurred with the "fractionary process," Alberto Neto was spared.

On the other hand this jeopardized his friendship with Jose Van-Dunem, one of the leaders behind the process. On the other hand, it furthered his cordial relationship with Lucio Lara and his friendship with Manual Pedro Pacavira, two of the main public adversaries of the so-called "Nitistas." His girlfriend, whose last name was Feijo, was one of Lucio Lara's secretaries and the sister of Manuel P. Pacavira's wife.

These relationships enabled him to participate in April 1977, before the "fractionary process" had culminated, in the Committee for Reorganization of the JMPLA [Youth of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] set up by the MPLA Politburo to purge the youth of the "deviationist virus." Alberto Neto was a member of the MPLA's National Youth Committee, and in June of 1977 he "attended" the execution of most of the members of the executive committee of the youth movement.

In these circumstances he kept the post of FAPLA political commissar, alternating it at times with the position of chief of staff of this branch of the Armed Forces (1981 to 1984).

He spoke the Marxist rhetoric and he knew the organizational problems of the Angolan Government and party apparatus, and this gave credibility to his criticism, almost always leveled at officers in the Armed Forces. He was a major at that time. His comments were naturally directed at Iko Carreira, his immediate boss in FAPA.

Cleverly, he waited for a reaction. The support of President Eduardo dos Santos and the censureship of the barons. Iko Carreira, used to the administrative rules of the game of Agostinho Neto's era, reacted by sending him to the Soviet Union. This was the false move that Albert Neto was naturally expecting: higher military officers cannot be sent on missions abroad, and much less to attend military courses,

without the knowledge of the commander-in-chief of the Armed Forces. Alberto Neto knew that Jose Eduardo dos Santos had not been advised and so he wrote the President a letter regretting the situation. Later he requested an audience, which was granted, and he explained his reasons. The Angolan President acknowledged them but said: "In spite of everything, a soldier must first comply with the orders of his superiors. Have a good trip, comrade!"

Alberto Neto was aware of the rules of the game and he knew that by respecting Jose Eduardo dos Santos' suggestion, he would be thought of as a loyal man. And this was to his interest.

In December 1985 the first MPLA-PT Congress was held in Luanda. Alberto Neto represented USSR students. Knowledgeable of the internal power structure, he established alliances here and there. Essentially with Manual P. Pacavira, who was now an enemy of Lucio Lara and Iko Carreira. It was to his benefit to be on the left at a time when power struggles opposing the "black power" and the "mulatto power" lines were intensifying. The black power group had more weight than the mulatto power, whose only hope for salvation lay in the position of Jose Eduardo dos Santos. But the Angolan President felt compelled to defend the so-called "rules of democratic centralism": the majority wins in the face of the discordant minority.

At the time of the elections for the Central Committee, Alberto Neto was in fifth place. But to be elected to the Politburo was going too far. It was Jose Eduardo dos Santos himself who was standing in the way. There is plenty of time, was the prevailing opinion.

Alberto Neto was born in Kimbele in northern Angola, the son of a nurse, Borges Francisco. He is regarded by his Party's leaders as a good organizer, but especially as one of the men who rose in the shadows of Jose Eduardo dos Santos.

9805/08309

Cubans Reportedly Resisting Angolan Assignment 34420077e Lisbon AFRICA CONFIDENCIAL in Portuguese 22 Dec 87 p 4

[Text] Information difficult to verify but coming from impartial sources indicates that demonstrations were staged recently in Cuba to protest sending troops to Angola.

The demonstrators also demanded shipment of the bodies of soldiers in Angola. Cuban soldiers have been buried in Angola since 1978, and their remains have only been shipped back later.

This information is consistent with other reports that various Cuban officers have been questioned because of their attitude of "passive resistance" to being sent to Angola. No higher-ranking Cuban officers have been sent to Angola for about 8 months.

9805/08309

Fadika Rumored Responsible for Arms Shipment 34000358 London AFRICA ANALYSIS in English 22 Jan 88 p 1

[Text] Abidjan. Rumours of a plot to oust President Felix Houphouet-Boigny have been rife here since the sudden dismissal of navy minister Lamine Mohamed Fadika last month. The lack of an official explanation—in typically Ivoirian fashion—for the removal of this young, dynamic and popular minister has put the gossipmongers on overtime.

Nevertheless, there does seem to have been a genuine challenge to the ailing octogenarian leader, much to the surprise of the majority of Ivoirians who have learned to refer to him in the most revential of terms.

It is widely believed that Fadika was responsible for shipping a large consignment of arms into Abidjan port, apparently to be used in a coup attempt. The origin of the weapons is not clear. Perhaps a hostile neighbour, or perhaps an opportunistic Arab backer—Fadika was said to be the only Muslim in the 40-strong cabinet.

The shipment, it appears, was intercepted. Fadika was confronted, and fired. Also confronted was General Zeze Baroan, chief-of-staff of the Ivoirian army. But he apparently claimed he had been gathering information about

the coup plot and was going to reveal all when the time came. For his trouble, Baroan has since been appointed ambassador to Brazil. But who, at Fadika's behest, organised the arms shipment, and who then betrayed him? Many people here believe that it may well have been the same person.

On 9 January, Houphouet attended the funeral of 38-year-old Raphael Yahot Konan, the national shipping company's representative in Hamburg, who was knifed to death on 30 December while home for Christmas holidays. Konan was a close associate of Fadika's, but is said to have been feeding information about the planned coup to Camille Alliali, a senior minister of state and Houphouet confidant.

According to the conventional wisdom, Fadika was something of a stalking horse, sent to test the ground for more ambitious and less conscientious members of the ruling democratic party. Most of these are contemporaries of Fadika, but they are also thought to include members of the old guard who are fearful of being sidelined when 'Le Vieux' moves on. The latter category includes Jean Konan Banny, who recently added responsibility for the navy to his defence portfolio.

08309

Government To Spend Sh300 Million on AIDS 34000063a Nairobi SUNDAY TIMES in English 13 Dec 87 p 3

[Article by George Munji]

[Text] The government will spend about shs 300 million in an effort to contain the killer disease AIDS to stop it from spreading, an Assistant Minister for Health Mr Julius Muthamia has said.

He said although the disease had affected a small number of the urban people, the ministry was determined to stop the killer disease from spreading into the rural areas due to the rural-urban immigration trend.

The assistant minister said the government had focussed its attention on the disease which was first diagnosed in Kenya 4 years ago.

Mr Muthamia said the government was taking specific measures for example, the formation of the AIDS committee, screening of blood before transfussion, formation of 5 year AIDS control programme and creating awareness of the disease. He said the problem needed to be tackled internationally adding that Kenya would continue collaborating with other countries and agencies including the World Health Organisation (WHO) to fight the disease.

He said Kenya was losing about one billion shillings annually in terms of human lives and property due to motor accidents.

As a result, the government was determined to do everything to contain the situation through the National Road Safety Council but noted that it still remained a major concern to both the government and the general public.

The assistant minister said this when he talked to the SUNDAY TIMES at the Jomo Kenyatta International Airport on Friday night on his return from the 15th Regional Health Minister's Conference held in Kampala, Uganda. It was attended by the Commonwealth countries from east and southern Africa region.

He said the countries that participated in the conference deliberated on health problems facing them and stated measures they were undertaking.

Uganda's Minister for Health Mr Ruhakuna Ruganda was elected chairman of the body for the coming one year.

/9604

Chissano Said Resorting to Heightened Diplomacy to Solve Problems

34420072b Lisbon AFRICA CONFIDENCIAL in Portuguese 22 Dec 87 p 15

Negotiations

[Text] The groups which, inside FRELIMO [Mozambique Liberation Front] advocated negotiations with RENAMO [Mozambique National Resistance] as a way of solving the problem of the war in Mozambique are increasingly losing ground and already count for little. "Negotiations are a closed issue," we were assured by a well-connected source. On the other hand, in his most recent international contacts, the last of which was with Chancellor Helmut Kohl, President Joaquim Chissano displayed the kind of firmness never before exhibited by his predecessor Samora Machel in closing the doors on any idea of formal negotiations with RENAMO. Some months ago, Chissano even ordered that contacts, which through a channel of the Holy See, the International Center for Peace, with headquarters in Assisi, were intended to create conditions for a dialogue with RENAMO, be broken off.

Some of the most well-founded Western analyses concerning the situation in Mozambique almost entirely agree in stating that RENAMO is now entering a process of weakening on more or less short notice. This projection, which decisively influences the current orientation in Maputo, to the effect that no process of negotiations be opened with RENAMO, is based on two pieces of evidence: Maputo's growing capacity for political and diplomatic maneuver in the Western Countries, as well as the almost complete isolation of South Africa in its role as source of support for RENAMO which is becoming further accentuated in view of the rise in international pressures against it (AC [AFRICA CONFIDENCIAL], No 21, p 1), aimed at forcing it to revise its strategy.

In view of this scenario, the attitude of the government in Mozambique is, as explained by the above-mentioned source, to go on "coexisting with war," confining one self only to trying to control its worst effects. It is believed that the advantages which are clearly on the side of Mozambique, as it gains more and more of a hearing in the Western countries, will in the end force South Africa to revise its strategy. As soon as this happens, it is believed, RENAMO will hit a losing streak and it will only be a question of timing "to finish off" what is left of it.

Western Halo

In the performance of his presidential function, Joaquim Chissano concentrates his special attention on the diplomatic front. Foreign Affairs Minister Pascoal Mocumbi is nothing but an executor of the directives charted by Chissano. The area of government intervention by Prime Minister Mario Machungo is practically confined to administration and the economy.

Chissano and persons closest to him try less and less to conceal a certain degree of fascination with what they like to call the "diplomatic victories" of the president's administration. And they are right: The broad range of the government's multiple relations with the Western countries is becoming increasingly known and this, in turn, has led to the growing isolation of RENAMO. While a debate crupted in Sweden concerning the continuation of economic cooperation with Angola, Swedish government circles began to advocate military aid for Mozambique.

In addition to the definite political and diplomatic benefits which Mozambique derives from its new alliances with the Western countries, it also gets ever more generous economic aid from them (which enables it to mitigate the effects of the war on the economy). Chancellor Kohl (who visited Maputo on 18 and 19 November, a visit that received much domestic coverage), promised more than DM72 million in economic aid, on top of the 137 million over the past 5 years. Long gone are the days when, as a result of pressure from the GDR, Mozambique did not receive any direct economic aid from the FRG.

President Chissano also received yet another promise from Helmut Kohl: to step up pressure by the FRG on South Africa—also requested earlier of Mitterrand and Reagan—so as to get South Africa to stop supporting RENAMO. Here is an interesting sidelight: Kohl was asked to get the FRG to cooperate in providing teaching personnel for the University of Maputo where until a short time ago there had been many GDR teachers in the field of Marxism-Leninism.

U.S.-USSR

Mozambican officials however admit that they have not yet attained one of the objectives of their foreign policy: to turn in their favor the powerful American conservative circles who publicly advocate support for RENAMO and who call for a revision of administration policy toward Mozambique, especially the Heritage Foundation of Jesse Helms. But they are apparently on the right track.

The establishment of more or less official contacts with Israel (which are clearly a reversal of the anti-Semitic principles of Mozambican policy) likewise indicated a "good-will message" from those United States circles in which Jewish influence predominates. Of course, the idea behind these contacts again is to try to isolate South Africa from another one of its partners. There is no doubt that an Israeli official by the name of Abraham Tamir was received by Joaquim Chissano 3 months ago.

But Mozambique is also exploring other ways to persuade American conservatives who very much emphasize what they call Maputo's "obedience" to Moscow and its Marxist-Leninist policy, as part of the anti-FRELIMO crusade. These ways are represented by some convincing signals as to a cooling of relations between Moscow and the USSR and, as the other side of the coin, an improvement in relations with the United States.

The official Mozambican delegation to the 70th anniversary of the Russian Revolution was headed by Marcelino dos Santos, a figure who is definitely on the skids in spite of the fact that, in theory, he continues to be the No 2 man in the regime. The speech he delivered in Moscow was rather harmless and was rather far removed from the previous standard statements, such as the habitual profession of faith in communism. The importance officially assigned to the recent cruise of two soviet warships to Maputo was also much played down in contrast to prior practice. Mozambique has given the green light to an old request by the United States to send a detachment of "Marines" to Maputo to protect its embassy. Stephen Halper, of the "Geopolitical Task Force on Southern Africa," a United States organization which until now has recommended a dialogue between RENAMO and FRELIMO, drafted a report on the situation in Mozambique which is partly favorable to FRELIMO.

Deideologization

The growing depletion of ideology in the country's life is another well-known phenomenon in Maputo. In this way, Chissano is not only moving closer to a technocracy, which pleases the West, but he is also eliminating one of the factors (much discredited, by the way) of domestic weariness. Today, FRELIMO is nothing more than a party of top leaders who go through the motions of holding the traditional cell meetings. The so-called "bourgeoisification" of the leading and middle class is another phenomenon pointing to the domestic political openings and the commitments to the IMF whose effects, in turn, however, are reflected by the posture of indifference or even distancing with relation to RENAMO. Although real estate is still the property of the state, this law is expected to be revised; there is an increasing effort to move toward the tacit purchase of homes.

Transportation Minister Armando Guebuza, in practice the No 2 man of the regime, recently inaugurated a splendid house in Mahotas which even included the opening of a tomb. Carlos Klinde, a colonel who was chief of Military Telecommunications and who, in 1986, appeared linked to circles that advocated a dialogue with RENAMO, is now the owner of a data processing firm.

While it was announced that there would soon be a new reshuffling of the administration, as a result of which the whites could suffer a renewed shock (departures of Aranda da Silva and Antonio Branco), the war continues at the gates of Maputo but it is believed that it will not go on for much longer. The war has become a routine thing. It no longer matters that the city of Beira had no electric power on 14 November because the power line pylons had been destroyed.

Spain's Ambassador Assures Continued Aid 34430085d Maputo NOTICLAS in Portuguese 14 Jan 88 p 8

[Text] "The Spanish Government is committed to carry forward the agricultural cooperation program between our countries," said the Spanish ambassador to Mozambique, Jaime Abrisqueta, in an interview with the Spanish newspaper, EFE.

Abrisqueta said, "The campaigns carried out by some entities of the Spanish press against the project will not change its execution."

This presupposes, said Abrisqueta, the development of agricultural potential, and the formation of military forces that can be effective in defending the project from attacks by armed bandits.

In November, an important delegation, made up in part by senior members of the Spanish Civil Guard, was in this country to study, along with our authorities, what should be the site of the agricultural company, and how to train effective military units.

A new Spanish delegation will visit here in the next few months to finalize the November agreements, said the Spanish diplomat.

12857

Muslim Leader Visits Saudi Arabia 34420083d Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguesc 7 Jan 88 p 8

[Text] The secretary general of the Islamic Council of Mozambique, Sheik Abu-[not clear] Mussa, left Maputo on Tuesday for Saudi Arabia to report on the situation of war and hunger being experienced in Mozambique.

Mussa told reporters at the Maputo Airport that he was going to try to obtain material support for economic recovery programs and emergency programs in Mozambique.

He added that he would meet with officials of the Islamic Bank, whose headquarters are in Saudi Arabia, with a view to obtaining new investments for socioeconomic projects being carried out by our country's government.

In September 1987, the Islamic Development Bank (IDB) approved \$2 million in financial aid for Mozambique. The money will be used to support the construction of two vocational schools in Nampula and Cabo Delgado Provinces.

Planned for the first half of this year is the start of construction on an Islamic school in Maputo. The work is being financed by the IDB with about \$700,000.

New Military Crimes Law Passed 34420072a Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 22 Dec 87 p 1

[Text] During its third session, the People's Assembly yesterday approved the Military Crimes Law, a document which was passed with the unanimous vote of the deputies participating in this effort. Passage came after the legislative act had been subjected to a harmonious summary of the debates around the bill. The new juridical document will take effect in July 1988 to permit the organization of conditions necessary for its complete implementation, particularly the establishment of courts-martial.

The new law, which spells out military crimes and pertinent penalties, the first one to take effect in the country since independence, in 1975, consists of 112 articles subdivided in various titles and chapters.

"A military crime is any socially dangerous action or omission which affects ethics and military discipline, which threatens, harms, or disturbs the fighting capacity or military security and which may be provided for under military law," says Paragraph One of Article One of that law which was passed yesterday by the People's Assembly.

The document excludes from the category of military crime "the action or omission which, although containing its constituting elements, does not entail any social danger beyond which the above)mentioned effects would not result," says Paragraph Two of that same Article One.

The law applies to military crimes, regardless of whether or not they are committed by Defense and Security Forces. This latter designation encompasses the FPLM (Armed Forces of Mozambique) and all paramilitary forces, especially the police and security forces, regardless of their branch or specialty, as well as the People's Militias.

The law provides that ordinary criminal law is also to be applicable to military crimes with regard to anything that is not specifically governed in the new legislation and to the extent that it does not conflict with its formulated provisions under conditions and circumstances proper to military service.

In the chapter dealing with criminal liability, the law, among other precepts, states that "the attempt at military crimes is always punishable." The new law follows a new criminal asymmetry which establishes the framework of crimes to be punished by between 30 days and as much as 2 years of imprisonment, others which are punished with between 2 and 8 years of imprisonment, those which are subject to a penalty of between 8 and 12 years, in addition to the others that are punished with 12-20 years of imprisonment and those calling for as much as 24 years. The law establishes the maximum punishment of the death penalty by firing squad.

On the other hand, it provides accessory penalties which include expulsion, discharge, demotion, and punishment with the lash. It must be noted that the accessory punishment of the lash, ordered by a court-martial is optional, depending on the seriousness of the military crimes in line with civil law in force on this subject.

As for expulsion from the Defense and Security Forces, it was provided that this accessory penalty "will obligatorily be applied in cases where the verdict calls for more than 8 years of imprisonment." It was emphasized during the debate that there is a difference in the implementation of the punishment of expulsion, ordered by the court, which eliminates the assumption of readmission to the Defense and Security Forces, something which is not the case in the system of expulsion under the provisions of disciplinary regulations.

Resisters

"Any individual who, without justified motivation, fails to comply with the census obligation, to turn up for health inspections or at induction stations or for any act intended to lead to induction at the specified time or according to what was communicated to him, shall be punished as a resister with up to 2 years of imprisonment," the new law stipulates, emphasizing that "in wartime, the penalty shall be 2-8 years.

"The new legal document establishes punishment for cases of cowardice, stating that "the commander or leader who abandons or voluntarily capitulates, surrendering to an enemy force barracks, base, post, ship, air craft, means for the pursuit of war, or troops entrusted to his command, without having used all available means of defense and without having employed the procedures demanded by military honor and duty, shall be punished with imprisonment of between 12 and 24 years or with the death penalty.

"In the chapter dealing with crimes against the fatherland, against military ethics and honor, the law provides that "the person who, in wartime, becomes inebriated, while on duty of a military nature or having to do with military obligations, or after having been selected, alerted, or earmarked for such duty, shall be sentenced to as much as 2 years of imprisonment." flt emphasizes that, "if drunkenness was sought as a pretext for avoiding combat or any type of duty considered dangerous, the individual shall be punished with between 2 and 8 years of imprisonment."

In the chapter pertaining to crimes against military property, the law states, in its body of articles, that "the person who unlawfully sells or in any other form disposes of items that are military property or that are assigned for use by military units or installations shall be punished with between 2 and 8 years of imprisonment."

In case these property items or things are instruments for the pursuit of the war, the penalty shall be raised to as much as 8 years.

The punishmer t for this crime may be between 8 and 12 years, if the property items or things thus embezzled can be used against the life or liberty of persons, against installations or buildings, against the security of highway, railroad, and maritime transportation or aviation, as well as against lines or means of communication.

When the property item or object mentioned is of little value and if the action as such does not lead to serious consequences and if the violator has a prior record of good military service and if the particular item was not intended for the enemy, the penalty shall be imprisonment of 1 year.

05058

New Amnesty Law Explained 34420070a Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 21 Dec 87 p 1

[Text] The Amnesty Law and Pardon Law have been in effect in the People's Republic of Mozambique since last Saturday, at the decision of the Popular Assembly, convening in its third session. As had been announced, the first law is intended to provide amnesty for the crimes against the security of the people and the popular state, committed by Mozambican citizens who have, in any way, fought or promoted violence against the Mozambican people or state, inside or outside the national territory, provided that they have voluntarily surrendered. The second law is directed toward those individuals who, imprisoned in fulfillment of a sentence imposed by a court, or being detained, are awaiting judgment, and have shown good conduct in prison, attested to by the respective authorities, and who have disclosed their intention of reassuming their role in society with dignity, having acquitted themselves with socially useful work. The Amnesty and Pardon Laws are interpreted as being a new component in the general combat fronts against armed banditry, in which military combat is predominant as a critical factor. At one of the Popular Assembly sessions, President Joaquim Chissano remarked: "The war will not end because of amnesty and pardon."

In the opening address for the activities of the third session of the supreme organ of state authority in our country, the head of state announced the proposal of the FRELIMO Party's Central Committee, addressed to the Popular Assembly deputies, for the approval of the Amnesty and Pardon Laws.

For almost 7 consecutive hours, the proposal was widely debated that day, not only by deputies, but also by guests present in the hall, who were given the floor, provided that they had so requested, on the basisof the legal provisions. We learned that one of the guests speaking during this debate was the archbishop of Maputo, Alexandre dos Santos.

This was a heated, in-depth discussion of an extremely delicate issue, critical to the nation's existence. For this reason, the debate session took place behind closed doors, as specified in the law governing cases of this type, if it is so agreed. At the conclusion of the debate, even though the proposal had been approved, it was decided to submit it to the Popular Assembly's Commission on Constitutional and Juridical Affairs, and Legality, in order to improve technical features. This work by the commission was backed by other deputies appointed for this purpose.

How the Proposal Originated

The proposal for the Amnesty and Pardon Laws originated in the FRELIMO Party's Politburo, which decided to submit it to the Central Committee for discussion and approval. There is only one fundamental point: The Mozambican person is involved, and he is always the one who is at stake.

It is a fact that this terrorist, destabilizing war against the Mozambican people has been prompted from abroad, by the apartheid regime and the forces nostalgic for colonialism, in their vain attempt to recolonize Mozambique, regardless of the means; even resorting for this purpose to genocide and massacre, if necessary, to destroy the Mozambican people, as such.

Attacking Mozambique militarily, the apartheid regime and the forces nostalgic for colonialism are acting to destroy the Mozambican state, seeking the disintegration of the people and the breakdown of the nation.

To this end, the aggression has been carried out by Mozambicans, organized by officials of the South African Defense Forces and mercenaries hired not only by Pretoria, but also by these forces nostalgic for colonialism.

The direct agents of the terrorism and crime, the direct agents of the destabilization and sabotage, the direct agents of the armed banditry are Mozambicans. And it is these individuals who are involved.

And it is not just the citizens who were abducted from their villages or their farms by the armed bandits, and who were used as tools, brutalized, and turned into agents of terrorism and crime. Citizens of various ages, most particularly children and adolescents, were very soon forced to commit the most cruel and heinous crimes, the most repugnant crimes.

This is a situation experienced in virtually the entire national territory; that tragic, painful situation for thousands of Mozambicansfamilies stricken by mourning.

There are also those individuals who, in one way or another, associated with the armed bandits, including those located abroad, even at the time of the BA's [armed bandits] inception; who did not on that account cease to be persons used as tools, brutalized, and converted into agents of terrorism and crime.

We must by no means forget that the matter of using Mozambicans as tools is nothing new. It dates back to colonial times, when the oppressive regime used Mozambicans in the PIDE [International Police for Defense of the State], in the Commandos, in the GE's [Special Groups], or in the GEP's [Special Police Groups], to combat their people's struggle for national independence.

lan Smith's former Rhodesian regime also used Mozambicans, likewiseemploying Mozambicans as tools, brutalizing them, and converting them into agents of terrorism and crime. These steps have been and are being followed by the apartheid regime, when it recruits unemployed Mozambicans to live in South Africa, or when it orders the abduction of defenseless citizens, especially in rural areas, to swell the ranks of the armed bandits.

The Tradition of Clemency

Amnesty and pardon are part of FRELIMO's tradition of clemency. As early as the time of the armed struggle for national liberation, that policy of clemency was applied to the Portuguese Army military. We must not forget that, after the Lusaka Accords, between FRE-LIMO and the Portuguese Government, Portuguese prisoners of war were shown, but no Mozambican prisoner of war was shown.

Following the proclamation of national independence, during 1982, it was officially declared that there were no longer any committed people in Mozambique. In other words, FRELIMO once again used the policy of clemency to enable thousands of Mozambicans committed to colonialism and direct agents of the foreign oppression and exploitation of the Mozambican people to assume their identity and status as Mozambican citizens with dignity.

The Central Committee's proposal to the Popular Assembly is based on this policy of clemency, attesting to the humanism of a people, in this instance, the Mozambican people

It Is Not the End of the War

The amnesty and pardon now decreed by the Popular Assembly do not mean the end of the war, nor surrender, vacillation, negotiations, norpolitical recognition of the armed bandits, tools of aggression against our country. The amnesty and pardon are not a cease-fire.

This war will not end until the armed bandits lay down their arms, and the mentors of the armed bandits are convinced that they have no more agents to carry out their acts of terrorism and crime in our country.

President Chissano, addressing the Popular Assembly deputies, declared: "This is a battle without let-up," stressing that it is impossible to initiate negotiations in any way with the armed bandite, whatever the case may be.

The mentors of the armed bandits are seeking a government of national reconciliation and elections, in their attempt to depict the armed bandits as an organized political force and an alternative to FRELIMO in leading the destiny of the Mozambican nation.

But there is no possibility of our legitimizing the armed bandits as a political group. They are bandits, tools of foreign interests, who are not even serving the national interests, even those of a minority or a group, whether it be racial, tribal, or religious.

Intensifying the Battle

When the Amnesty and Pardon Laws were promulgated, the fundamental reason was that, now, more than ever, it has become necessary to intensify the battle on all fronts, particularly the military front.

In the Popular Assembly debates, President Chissano remarked: "We mean that the armed bandits must be combated with greater intensity"; stressing that the purpose of the battle is not revenge but rather (and most particularly) the physical elimination of the tool used by the enemies of national independence and of the revolution.

The battle has several fronts: political, military, economic, and diplomatic. It is the pooling of efforts on all the battle fronts that will make possible the final victory over the military aggression of which the Mozambican nation has been a victim for more than 2 decades.

2909

Constitutional Amendments to be Submitted to Public Debate

34000359d Paris THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER in English 9 Jan 88 p 3

[Passages in italics as published]

[Text] Mozambique's People's National Assembly decided during its third ordinary session at the end of December to submit the proposed revision of the Constitution which the parliament had discussed during its previous session (see ION N'302) for debate at local and regional level. The plan is seen as reflecting the desire of the government and the national assembly to make significant changes to the country's political institutions in addition to the radical economic reforms begun a year ago.

The main amendment proposed to the Constitution concerns the selection of the head of state. In the future the holder of this office would not necessarily be the president of Frelimo, the ruling party, as has been the case since Mozambique achieved independence in 1975. The possibility of several candidates for the office would also be approved. If the proposed revisions as submitted to the national assembly win national approval, the head of state will be elected by the People's National Assembly in a secret ballot (a method of voting which was used for the first time in modern Mozambican history during the last parliamentary session).

Other proposals approved by the assembly last month included an amnesty for members of the rebel Renamo movement who agree to lay down their arms in the next 12 months, and a law on war crimes.

I.O.N. While the introduction of a multiparty system is not planned, the constitutional amendments to be submitted to public debate (and which could be passed by parliament during its next session) mark an important turning point in advance of the day when the Mozambican army makes significant gains in the field and the Maputo government decides to begin talks with Renamo.

The amnesty measures in this respect make a great deal of sense: the pardons granted since 1984 did not offer the same guarantees for those who surrendered, and it now seems that many Renamo "veterans" have become discouraged by the continual postponement of the "final victory" promised by their leaders from 1984, and no longer believe in a military end to the rebellion. Large numbers of Renamo guerrillas have surrendered to the authorities over the past two weeks to take advantage of the amnesty.

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New Devaluation of Metical 34000359a Paris THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER in English 9 Jan 88 p 8

[Text] The Bank of Mozambique announced on 2 January the third devaluation of the metical in a year. The 12.5 percent reduction in the value of the national currency means that the United States dollar now buys 450 meticais, compared with 39 at the beginning of 1987. Further devaluations could still be implemented, since the black market rate is still more than 800 meticais to the dollar. Just a few months ago the dollar could buy 1,500 meticais.

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Fight Against Renamo Enters New Stage in Inhambane

34420073 Maputo NOTICIAS in Portugese 14, 16, 17, 21 Dec 87

[Article by Antonio Sitoe: "Fight Against Armed Bandits Gets New Look"]

[Part I, 14 Dec 87 p 1: "Military Reorganization Goes Forward in Inhambane"]

[Text] The recent attack on the central bases of the armed bandits [BA's] in Nhamungue and Vavate, Homoine District, and in Marrumuane, Jangamo District, together with various encampments—which resulted in their subsequent occupation—are the first fruits of the process of reorganization of the Armed Forces of Mozambique throughout the nation, and particularly in Inhambane Province.

All of these bases were well situated from the geographic and military standpoints, and were regarded by the armed bandits as impregnable.

In recent trips to the two last-named localities, the NOTICIAS reporter was personally able to bear witness to this fact, as well as the ever-increasing hatred that the young soldiers—and the population in general—harbor against armed banditry.

Vavate—situated approximately 22 km from Marramuane, the district capital—was the site of a BA base that consisted of more than 500 huts and was destroyed last October. Previously, however, it had been a populous communal village extending for more than 2.5 km.

Unpretentious peasants had lived there peacefully with minimally equipped infrastructures, including four elementary schools and one public health station.

It is an agricultural area par excellence, producing corn, cassava, beans, peanuts, mangoes, cashew nuts, and coconuts.

Situated on a small plateau. Vavate has access to the Domo River—which flows on the plain and has a depth of a few meters—for its supply of water and fish and for use in agriculture in its low-lying areas during periods of drought.

From the standpoint of military strategy Vavate is in a privileged position, for it is possible to detect any unusual movement from a distance.

Moreover, Vavate was either the point of departure or the staging area for a part of the force that on 18 July 1987 barbarously and savagely murdered more than 388 defenseless people in the town of Homoine.

"The strategic importance of this base was of fundamental importance to the maneuvers of the armed bandits. This was the motivation for the various failed attempts to recapture it," declared Adriano Mathe, political commissar of Battalion 275, stationed in Vavate.

However, the determination and fighting spirit that has recently characterized the Armed Forces blocked the attacks of the enemy, who is being constantly pursued and is fleeing in disarray—or in small groups—through the bush.

"These highly positive results achieved by our forces," he said, "are due above all to the process of reorganization of our Army and are being crowned with success, at least in Inhambane.

"A different attitude toward combat can also be noted on the part of our young soldiers in this military unit who are ready—in any situation—to carry out any attack anywhere," Adriano Mathe added.

PRE and Its Results

He said that the logistic support—which has improved substantially from day to day—has also instilled a new fighting morale in the young soldiers, and believes that the Economic Reconstruction Program [PRE] is already solving some problems, including problems within our Army.

In a related development, the ever-increasing hatred that the soldiers feel toward the armed bandits has made the total liquidation of banditry a priority task.

Adriano Mathe went on to say in this connection that although most of the soldiers in this unit were recruited through the Compulsory Military Service program, it so happens that in contrast to what had occurred previously they are not particularly concerned over demobilization.

This is because our soldiers have decided that so long as the armed bandits exist, there will never be peace and tranquillity—and that large areas where they could build their homes and farm their plots of land are either in the hands of the murderers in the pay of South Africa or are still living in a climate of insecurity.

For the fact is that even after they are demobilized, all they can do is live confined in towns or cities, with few or limited prospects of bettering their future.

If they do venture forth to go to work in large cities such as Maputo or Beira, it will be difficult for them to send their meager savings, food, clothing, or yard goods to their mothers, wives, or children without the armed bandits—lying in ambush in the curve of the road—attempting to seize these articles.

If they are successful in making the perilous trip to the mines of South Africa, the tractor, motor pump, and wagon that they may perchance be able to buy at the cost of much hard work will be unable to cultivate and irrigate the land or take their agricultural products to market, because they will always be candidates for the flames, and the "gumba-gumba" that was to gladden their own homes will be gladdening the encampment of the bandits.

Our reporter was able to bear witness to a glaring example of these deeds while traveling on the road to Vavate. A Land Rover—still bearing South African license plates—was burned a short distance beyond the communal village of Madavucane.

The Land Rover had belonged to a miner, who fortunately escaped without injury. Upon his return from South Africa, this miner learned that the residents of the village were abandoning their homes out of fear of the bandits. He thereupon bravely headed for the village to recover his personal belongings.

He did indeed arrive at his home and was able to recover his possessions. On the way back, however, the vehicle and its cargo were burned by armed bandits.

"It is these examples—and many others—that have caused the soldiers, and the population in general, to intensify their hatred of the bandits," said the soldier who told the story.

[Part II, 16 Dec 87 p 1: "New South African Strategy Is To Isolate Maputo"]

[Text] With the defeat of the South African strategy of dividing the People's Republic of Mozambique along the Zambezi River—and after successive severe defeats inflicted by the Defense and Security Forces on the armed bandits—the apartheid regime decided to transfer its major activity to the southern part of the country. To this end it has intensified its resupply of materiel and the infiltration of bandits, especially across the border with Gaza Province and via the sea. In sabotaging communications facilities and carrying out massacres near the city of Maputo, South Africa has two objectives: to isolate the nation's capital and create panic among its residents, especially those in the foreign community.

Beginning in early 1983, the military situation in Inhambane Province was characterized by successive bitter defeats inflicted on the armed bandits.

In the period 1984-85, these defeats became more severe. As a result, the bandits were wandering in small isolated groups and were increasingly confined to their encampments.

To apply the new strategy it was urgently necessary first of all to reequip the bandits with weapons, ammunition, and uniforms and to increase their numbers—tasks that were the responsibility of the South African regime.

Pretoria accordingly intensified the resupply of materiel by air, and the infiltration of armed bandits along the border with Gaza Province. It was within the framework of this strategy that last May—at Lake Chitepe, in Vilankulo—South African aircraft airdropped containers filled with weapons, and infiltrations by bandits increased both along the border and via the coast.

It was at this time that the sabotage of communications facilities between Maputo and the other southern provinces began to increase in intensity. Attempts to impede the free circulation of road traffic on National Highway No I by means of ambushes and attacks on passenger and freight transport also increased, and defenseless civilian populations living relatively near the nation's capital were massacred in a horrible manner.

It was also during this period that South African Minister of Defense Magnus Malan intensified the veiled threats against the People's Republic of Mozambique, accusing it of carrying out propaganda campaigns and destabilization actions against South Africa.

The principal objectives of the terrorist action are: to isolate the city of Maputo—the nation's capital—and simultanessly to attempt to create panic among the city's residents, especially the members of the foreign community, with probable repercussions in world public opinion.

This could persuade the Government of Mozambique to initiate talks with the armed bandits.

"Offensive" Within the Ranks of the Bandits

Concurrently, an "offensive" was unleashed within the ranks of the bandits, notably in Inhambane Province, as a consequence of the unfavorable military situation prevailing in that area.

The ringleaders of the bandits accordingly found themselves in the uncomfortable situation of having to fire all the "commanders" in that area, and to move their few surviving forces from the north and center to the south.

It was in this context that a well-known bandit enters the picture—an individual famous for the atrocities he has committed not only among the general population but among his own "soldiers" as well. This man—known as "Commander" Trovoada—has frequently been quoted by some armed bandits who are in the custody of the Defense and Security Forces and were interviewed recently by our reporter.

Juma Mussa Ismail. 47, a native of Pebane, Zambezia—who since 1982 has served as the bandits' "nurse"—testifies to the presence of the aforementioned Trovoada in Inhambane by quoting his nephew who was kidnapped in Zambezia and taken by Trovoada's group to Inhambane.

Rui Sabao—a young man of 15 who had been in the hands of the bandits for more than 3 years in Mabote and was subsequently transferred to the base at Matsuletsule in Vilankulo—took part in the reception and transport of armament airdropped at Lake Chitepe.

According to Rui Sabao, the operation was carried out in the middle of the night. He said the drop zone had previously been marked off by 30 bonfires lit in a circle, and that the operation was personally directed by "Commander" Trovoada, who had traveled to the site with more than 500 bandits.

Another child who has testified to Trovoada's presence in Inhambane is Carlos Rafael, 15, who was kidnapped by the bandits in Ndindiza, Gaza, and subsequently taken to the base at Nhamungue.

This young man—who served as cook for a "leader" named Salvador—told of certain atrocities committed by Trovoada, who does not hesitate to hang, torture, shoot, or beat his own men if they do not carry out his operational orders.

[Part III, 17 Dec 87 p l: "Not Even Children Escape the Massacres and Brutality"]

[Text] Fernando Antonio Nhacubane, 51, was a peasant in a village of Inharrime District when he was kidnapped in August 1983 by the armed bandits in Cambana, where he owned a farm. He moved rapidly from base and wound up in Nhamungue, where he joined the group of bandits which on 18 July 1987 carried out the massacre at Homoine. "The group was composed of 250 men, 200 of whom were equipped with firearms and 58 with machetes," he said in a recent interview given to NOTICIAS. "I was one of the 58," he said, "and I personally killed 20 persons with a machete."

After the kidnapping of which he was the victim, he passed through the base at Nhangele, Inharrime; the base at Nhavarre, Homoine; and finally the former central base at Nhamungue, where after receiving military training he performed the duties of cook.

He fell under the control of a so-called "drillmaster" named Gimo, who took part in the Homoine massacre.

"The operation, under the command of a so-called 'major'," he said, "began at about 1200 hours on 17 July with the departure of the group for Chidjapela, where we slept. With the exception of the 'command,' no one knew the objective of the operation," he emphasized.

At about 0300 hours the group broke camp and reached the outskirts of the town of Homoine at about 0500, approximately the hour the massacre began.

"The 200 armed men advanced fanwise through the town, while those of us who carried machetes followed along behind. Our mission was to kill anyone who had escaped the bullets or was attempting to flee. I personally killed 20 persons," he added.

He said that the massacre was followed by looting, and that these 58 men were given the task of transporting the stolen goods.

"Following this incident I remained at the base for only 2 days, after which I fled and surrendered to Frelimo troops, because I could no longer bear to live like that," he declared.

This story is an example of how the armed bandits brutalize people, of how they have transformed themselves into cruel and barbarous murderers who carry out the most hideous and repulsive crimes.

The massacres at Hemoine, Taninga, Manjacaze, and Maluana—which have been widely condemned throughout the world—are tragic and revelatory examples of the murderous fury of the agents of the Pretoria regime.

Not Even the Children Escape

In this murderous terrorist war that South Africa is waging against our people through the instrumentality of the armed bandits, not even the children escape.

Voluminous evidence has already been made public concerning the involvement of minors in tecrorist actions. We found such evidence at the bases of Vavate and Marramuane, where footprints and other indications revealed that children had been used in some of these murderous actions.

Isaias Paulo Maunze—commander of Battalion 287, stationed in Vilankulo—declared that in this district the bandits had used children 13 to 16 years of age to attack vehicles, to steal from the local residents, and even to kill.

"Many of these minors were rescued during attacks on certain bases," Commander Maunze added, "and are now under the care of a religious institution pending a decision as to their destination."

Each of the children of the group that was interviewed recently by our newspaper has a different story to tell concerning his kidnapping, the treatment he received, the crimes he was forced to commit, and the tasks he carried out.

Carlos Rafael was kidnapped in Ndindiza, Gaza Province, in 1985 when he was only 13 years old and when—together with other boys—he was pasturing cattle. He was taken to the base at Nhamungue and subsequently was made the cook for one of the "leaders" of the armed bandits, after receiving military training that consisted of marching and disassembling weapons.

"As a cook, my duty was to prepare meals for 'leader' Salvador and his wife," the young Carlos Rafael said, "and for this purpose we traveled enormous distances in search of provisions either in collective farms or in villages, or even by ambushing vehicles." Cassava, cassava meal, and coconuts are the products that normally served as food for the bandits. Although they are sometimes able to steal meat, it is systematically destined solely for the "commanders."

"We were eating only skins," he said.

"I was already tired of this life and very homesick for my family," Carlos Rafael declared. "If I didn't escape sooner, it was because I was completely unfamiliar with the road back, seeing as I had been kidnapped a very long time ago—in Ndindiza. I was fed up with carrying heavy 'sackfuls' of stolen goods every day to feed the 'leaders."

According to his statements, he and the more than 200 children living at the base under identical conditions were locked up at night to keep them from escaping.

As for the reasons that led the bandits to use children, he said:

"They say they prefer children, because when children encounter troops they do not have to 'freeze,' because of their height."

Rui Sabao is another minor who was a victim of the brutalities of the bandits. Kidnapped when he was only 12 years old, he was trained to steal and to kill; but when he witnessed the atrocities of "commander" Trovoada, he had to flee out of fear.

Juliao Muhehone, a native of Vilankulo who appears to be about 13 years of age, as kidnapped in that district as he was going with his family to pick corn. Some days later he succeeded in escaping, but was later captured by the same group that had kidnapped him previously. As punishment, they cut a piece out of both of his ears.

This punishment did not, however, cause young Julian to lose heart; about 1 month later, together with other young men, he was able to escape and turn himself over to our authorities.

He said that many other young men more or less his own age were also captives of the armed bandits.

BA's: Agents of Destabilization

The destabilization actions carried out by the armed bandits are not limited to massacres, the brutalization of children, and sabotage of economic and social infrastructures. They are also reflected in the daily lives of the people, and especially the rural populations and their agricultural production.

Time after time the farmers are obliged to abandon their land, their villages, and all their possessions and go to live within the confines of towns and cities, often without facilities for housing let alone for agricultural production.

In fact, anyone who travels from the town of Homoine to Vavate can attest to these facts. It is approximately 22 kilometers of absolute desert wherein the characteristic feature is the extensive communal villages which used to pulsate to the rhythm of a working population but have now been completely abandoned.

Looking through the doors of the houses—doors that had been flung open or broken into—one can imagine the destiny of the respective contents whose lawful owners did not have enough time to take with them because of the haste of their flight.

Throughout these 22 kilometers, only the timid quivering of the fronds of the coconut palms ventures to break the silence that not even birds are present to disturb, for they have fled this climate of death.

[Part IV, 21 Dec 87 p 1: "Mass Flight of the Kidnapped Residents"]

[Text] Hundreds of citizens who had been kidnapped by the armed bandits and compelled to live in the bush have been turning themselves in to the Defense and Security Forces at various locations in the nation. Statements made by some of these citizens to newsmen in Inhambane reveal that the military offensives of the Armed Forces—together with the difficult and inhuman living conditions maintained by the armed bandits in the bush—are a decisive factor. Hunger, thirst, and disease are also decisive factors. "Some people have already died of thirst," we were told in Inhambane.

From the standpoint of logistics, one of the strategiused by the armed bandits is the construction of bases and camps in areas favorably endowed in terms of agricultural production and other material resources for their own sustenance.

Indeed, the situation that one finds in Vavate (whose potential has already been described) and the situation in Marramuane—another former enemy base that has been attacked and occupied by the Armed Forces of Mozambique—are identical.

In addition to being an excellent producer of corn, peanuts, cassava, coconuts, and cashew nuts, the Marramuane area was the point of departure for the bandits who assaulted the vehicles traveling on National Highway No 1.

Confronted by the military offensive, however, the bandits were forced to fall back and therefore to seek shelter in places where it was difficult to survive. The drought—

which is intensifying in some areas—has made the situation intolerable, for in addition to the hunger they must also contend with thirst.

Some elements of the population—and armed bandits who had turned themselves over to the authorities—testified to these facts in an interview with the NOTI-CIAS reporter.

Carlos Rafael, who was kidnapped more than 3 years ago in Gaza Province, said he was forced to travel enormous distances on foot in search of food.

"We lived on cassava and cassava meal, but got even these products by attacking the residents of communal villages," he added.

Rui Sabao is another young man who was force? to live with the bandits for more than 2 years. He declared that on countless occasions he had been an eyewitness to fierce quarrels among the bandits—quarrels that often resulted in fatalities—over food that was mainly stolen from the people.

Lack of Motivation, and Despair

According to Juma Mussa Ismael, 47, former "nurse" to the bandits, in addition to the hunger, thirst, and difficult conditions to which the "legions" of banditry are subject, a certain lack of motivation—and even desperation—prevail among them.

"They are mobilizing the population to fight—to struggle—against Frelimo by destroying communal villages and cooperatives, and to put an end to socialism," he said, "but they do not say what political system they desire to implant."

As a result, the methods of "persuasion" and "encouragement" used by the commanders" to enforce participation in the fighting, the murders, and the stealing featured beatings, bullying, shootings, and torture, carried out masterfully by the so-called "commander" Elias Trovoada.

When contacted by our reporter, officers of the Armed Forces confirmed the dangerous conditions under which not only the population—forced to live with the armed bandits—was obliged to exist but the bandits themselves as well.

Thendai Joao Gimo—commander of the so-called "Burn-Shirt" battalion, stationed in Marramuane—said that in this area the bandits were facing difficulties with respect to food and were living only on coconuts.

For his part, Adriano Mathe—political commissar of Battalion 275, stationed in Vavate—told us that as a result of the most recent offensives carried out by the Armed Forces of Mozambique, the bandits were forced to occupy the inhospitable regions where survival is difficult.

"Most of the areas with conditions favorable to agriculture," he added, "are under the control of our forces, and the bandits are naturally having serious difficulties in obtaining food."

According to Isaias Paulo Mauze, commander of Battalion 287, stationed in Vilankulo, the bandits in that district—in addition to problems of hunger and thirst resulting basically from the meager rainfall that has characterized the region in recent months—are also facing difficulties with respect to the resupply of ordnance. This is the reason for their constant travels to the southern part of the province to seek these supplies.

"They are using hunting weapons to terrorize the local populations and steal their food," the officer added.

10992/08309

RSA Accused of Disrupting Health Services 34000359e Paris THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER in English 16 Jan 88 p 3

[Text] The Mozambican health ministry accused South Africa on 12 January of deliberately sabotaging the national health service by means of the Renamo rebels. According to a ministry report, 31 per cent of the country's primary health care facilities have been destroyed, depriving more than two million people of services. In addition the lack of security has forced many foreign doctors working in the bush to flee. As a result there was only one doctor for 396,000 people in 1986, compared with one per 161,000 in 1982, the report added.

/12913

Financial Aid From Moscow 34000359h Paris THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER in English 9 Jan 88 p 8

[Text] The Soviet Union made a grant to Mozambique on 24 December of 75 million roubles (around 100 million dollars) for economic co-operation programmes for the years 1988-90, according to the Mozambican news agency AIM. This grant will principally enable output of goods for export to be increased and trade to be stepped up between the two countries.

/12913

Foreign Funding for Electric Power Stations 34000359c Paris THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER in English 9 Jan 88 p 8

[Passages in boldface as published]

[Text] France is to provide 29 million francs in funding to complete the work of rehabilitating the Mavuzi power station, whose output, complemented at peak periods by that of the Chicamba plant, will supply electricity to the Manica and Sofala provinces of central Mozambique. This funding is in addition to the some 35 million francs (up from 25 million previously) which Paris pledged to provide for Mozambique in 1988 and 1989 following the meeting in Maputo of the joint Franco-Mozambican commission at the end of December.

Meanwhile Mozambique's minister for co-operation, Jacinto Veloso, has told the Brazilian magazine Cadernos do Terceira Mundo that the Maputo government was examining the possibility of erecting a power line linking Zimbabwe to the Cahora Bassa dam, which is located in the border province of Tete. Because of the destruction by Renamo rebels of some 300 pylons carrying high voltage lines from Cahora Bassa to South Africa, the output from the dam's power plant is no more than 10 megawatts, whereas its capacity is 2,075 megawatts. In addition, the national water authority was due to conclude in December a study on improvements to be carried out on the Massingir dam, which is situated on the Elephant River, the principal tributary of the Limpopo, in order that a hydro-electric plant can be installed.

Finally, Sweden and Norway are to provide finance for the construction of a power station at the Corumana dam in Maputo province. This project, which is scheduled to get under way this month, will cost around 80 million dollars.

/12913

World Vision Finances Manica Rural Water Project for Displaced 34420070b Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 28 Dec 87 p 3

[Text] A source from ONG reported that a project to supply drinking water to nearly 50,000 persons displaced by war in Manica Province is to be financed by World Vision of Canada, a non-governmental organization which, for this purpose will provide the National Rural Water Program (PRONAR) in Chimoio with nearly \$200,000 (almost 80,000 contos).

According to the same source, the aforementioned money will be used to purchase manual pumps and cement, and to pay for a technical assistance contract with a Zimbabwean firm, Manica Land Drilling.

At present, inspection work is under way to determine the best sites for the implementation of water holes in the areas decided upon for digging them.

The digging of holes will be done by Manica Land Drilling, contracted for this purpose by World Vision of Canada. The PRONAR in Chimoio will supervise the work, undertaking, in turn, the installation of manual pumps, including the cement paving around them, and will train the maintenance personnel.

As our source disclosed, for the maintenance of the 88 pumps to be installed in the context of this project, and others to be set up in the future, nearly 25 villages will be created in the areas where they are to be installed.

This water supply project will be concentrated in various rural sections of Gondola, Manica, Chimoio, and Sussundenga, in areas where nearly 50,000 displaced persons are living.

Project Will Improve Health Conditions

In addition to the water supply, the project is also intended to improve the health conditions of the displaced persons; specifically, to reduce diarrhea, an illness currently affecting nearly 35,000 children who have been contaminated as a result of the large numbers of persons gatheredunder very precarious conditions, close to the springs, with excessiveuse of the aforementioned water sources.

Moreover, the project is aimed at reducing the time spent, mainly by women and children, seeking drinking water; time that could be used for other occupations, such as food production, literacy instruction, and activities of a family nature.

It should be noted that some communal villages located in the areas where the holes are to be dug will aid the project, by opening up paths to the sites selected, and choosing individuals to be trained in the maintenance of the pumps.

Sanitary Dockyard in Espungabera

Meanwhile, in connection with the emergency program of the water sector, a source from that sector in Manica announced that the Ministry of Construction and Water is engaged in outfitting sanitary dockyards on the provincial level, from the standpoint of personnel, material, and equipment, for the purpose of responding to emergencies.

For example, in the Mossurize district of Manica Province, work is currently in progress to construct the Espungabera Sanitary Dockyard; work that is part of the project to supply water to that district, benefiting from UNICEF financing.

This work was based essentially on the equipping of the springs, and the construction of fountains, and washing and drinking fixtures; making it possible to improve the health conditions in those same locations, according to the source.

Community Receives Donation From Bulgarian Ambassador

34420069a Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 22 Dec 87 p 2

[Text] The population of the communal neighborhood George Dimitrov received a gift the day before yesterday from the Patriotic Front of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, a mass democratic organization of that socialist country, to assist the people of this residential zone of the nation's capital. The donation, presented by the Bulgarian ambassador to Mozambique, Gueorgui Borgov, is estimated at about \$100,000 (approximately 40,000 contos) and consists of construction materials, a motor pump, agricultural implements, clothing and also a television set.

Prior to the presentation ceremony the residents of the George Dimitrov neighborhood, who had assembled in the early hours of the morning at the office of the Association of Bootblacks where the ceremony took place, presented various cultural and recreational events in a clear manifestation of joy.

It was shortly after 9 o'clock when the Bulgarian ambassador, accompanied by the first secretary of the party and administrator of urban district No 5, Celestino Cumaio, arrived on the scene, where the population, dancing and singing, anxiously awaited them.

In the meeting with the local population, the administrator of urban district No 5 explained the purpose of the Bulgarian ambassador's visit to the neighborhood, which is named after a hero of that European socialist country.

He recalled that this was not the first time that the Bulgarian diplomat had visited this part of the city and that as on previous occasions his visit was designed to strengthen the existing ties of friendship and cooperation between the People's Republic of Mozambique and Bulgaria.

Celestino Cumaio said that the last time the ambassador visited the neighborhood the local residents told him about many problems, for example, the lack of a place for the Dynamization Group to establish its own office.

"And he now brings us some responses from the Bulgarian people who, through their Patriotic Front, have donated construction materials, such as roofing, electrical material and school supplies, among other things," the administrator of the urban district added.

He also took occasion to announce an exhibition of the most representative articles at the location of the Bootblack Association, where the neighborhood Dynamization Group has its temporary office, so that the people may see the articles donated.

The Bulgarian ambassador then expressed his satisfaction by delivering the material contributed by the people of his country to the people of the George Dimitrov neighborhood. He confirmed also that the donation constituted an expression of the Bulgarian people's regard for the Mozambican people.

On this occasion Gueorgui Bogov reaffirmed the disposition of this country to support the Mozambican people, in particular the inhabitants of the George Dimitrov neighborhood, and expressed a desire to strengthen relations of friendship and cooperation.

He announced that in the future the people of Bulgaria will send another gift to the George Dimitrov neighborhood, which he hoped would make good use of the articles donated.

For their part, in response to this gesture of solidarity, the local people presented the ambassador with various presents, including arts and crafts objects and agricultural products.

12942/08309

Scandinavian Market Opens for National Products 34420069c Maputo NOTICIAS in Portugese 29 Dec 87 p 3

[Text] Mozambique may be exporting tropical fruit, vegetables and flowers to Norway, Denmark, Finland and Sweden as a result of a seminar organized by Scandinavians at Maputo last November for the purpose of promoting the export of Mozambican products to their countries.

To this end, a Scandinavian delegation discussed with Mozambican businessmen ways of exporting the national products.

This information was reported by the president of the Chamber of Commerce of Mozambique, Americo Magaia. He was recently in Europe, specifically in Finland and Sweden, where he took part in an international seminar concerning the activity of chambers of commerce.

The object of the meeting was to give European businessmen an opportunity to share experiences with respect to the organization and management of chambers of commerce.

Participating in the seminar were 10 African countries, namely, Somalia, Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Ruanda, Malawi, Zimbabwe, Swaziland, Lesotho, and Mozambique.

In the opinion of the president of the Chamber of Commerce, Americo Magaia, the spirit of assistance offered by the Scandinavian countries to the countries of SADCC [South African Development Coordination Conference], and to Mozambique especially, was well evident at the seminar. It was in this context that the

Scandinavian countries showed interest in importing Mozambican products, the first step being the holding of a meeting to study practical ways to do business.

12942/08309

Red Cross Aids Displaced Persons in Mieze 34420085a Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 1 Jan 88 p 3

[Text] The secretary-general of the Mozambican Red Cross (CVM), Janet Mondlane, recently visited with war refugees at the Mieze Administrative Post in the Pemba-Metuge district of Cabo Delgado. She was accompanied by Agostinho Manjate, the head of the National Mobilization of Blood Donors, and by the administrator-general of the CVM, Natalia Costa.

The delegation met with a group of 508 war refugees from the Mazeze Administrative Post in the Chiure district, where the secretary-general of the CVM explained the role of her humanitarian organization in assisting the country's victims of hunger and banditry.

Janet Mondlane told the refugees that they will be given machetes, files, axes and hoes to "produce in the fields and to help other war refugees." The implements will be delivered to the local administrator who will distribute them to the recipients.

The Mieze administrator, Benjamim Elias Ntipuma, explained at the meeting that, in addition to the 508 refugees in Mieze, there are also 1078 in the communal town of Nanlia, and another 377 spread among the farms in Nacaramo, near Nanlia.

Benjamin Elias also said that 50 students displaced by the war have been integrated into the primary schools of Nanlia and Mieze, but they lack notebooks, pencils and erasers.

The Provincial Red Cross Delegation of Mozambique has supplied the refugees with shawls, laundry soap, and toilet soap. In addition to what has been received from the Red Cross, the refugees have been given donations of dry manioc, corn meal, and peas by the residents of Mieze.

Now, the refugees are busy at preparing farmland and building houses to live in.

The secretary-general of the CVM visited the water supply project in Pemba, where she was told about the work that is going on there with the support of Italy through the Muratori Cement Cooperative. She also visited the site where CVM aides are being trained for work in factories.

12857

Displaced of Inhambane Receive Land 34420085b Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 1 Jan 88 p 3

[Text] Some of the refugees from the Homoine, Jangamo, Morrumbene and Funhalouro districts of Inhambane are now living in the towns of Lindela and Magumbela. One of the displaced people, Inosse Laisse, said that, since they had arrived in the region, there had been no threats on the part of the bandits and the situation was calm.

The staff of the Motivational Group of the towns has already distributed land and plots to the refugees for purposes of growing crops and building homes. The Secretary of the Magumbela Circle said that the refugees are receiving support from the district administration and from the residents of the region.

12857

Maputo Port Access Hydrographic Project Under Way Soon

34420085c Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 5 Jan 88 p 8

[Text] The port of Maputo is going to be rehabilitated through an emergency program supported by Swiss funding in the amount of 1.5 million crowns administered by ASDI (Swiss International Development Agency); the funding is equal to about 10 million meticals. It is forecasted that the project will be completed by March of next year, 2 months before the beginning of the project for rehabilitating the system of aids to navigation, phase one. In parallel, a project is to be developed by SNHB (National Hydrographic and Beacon Service) that is extremely important to commercial ship owners and operators in the port.

When a country's hydrographic service is poor, important negative consequences for navigation are the result. Owners and operators of ships become reluctant to send their craft to the ports of the region.

This has not only to do with the life blood of the national treasury— because it is always necessary to support infrastructures and a human resource group dedicated to seeking out and monitoring of sources of financing—but also with the fact that such a country earns a bad reputation for the way in which it provides navigation services.

For purposes of issuing useful and updated navigational information, continuous data-gathering is required, so that owners and operators of ships can be provided with exact data regarding port access conditions.

Obviously, it is through the efficiency of the sectors responsible for aids to navigation, and through precise maritime signal systems, that a country is able to attract maritime commerce to its region. Ships of different flags use the port of Maputo, carrying cargos destined not only for Mozambique, but also for countries in the interior. Demand for port services varies as a function of the port's infrastructural capacity. In other words, demand will diminish unless urgent measures are taken.

According to some sources, the shipowners and the ship operators are reticent with regard to the port because the buoys and other maritime signaling components are either out of position as compared with the positions listed in the navigation guides, or they are unlit. They feel that their ships would be navigating in uncertain waters.

However, the arguments made by those entities have to recognize at least two factors: Of a fleet of about a dozen units that would be able to cover the entire country, EMODRAGA today has only one dredge; and, although some materials can be bought in the local market, there is much other material that would have to be produced locally in order to provide continuity in their availability, a continuity that is presently interrupted because certain components have to be imported.

It was these issues that caused us to contact individuals who are part of the SNHB and the Marine Improvement Brigade; these are the entities that are involved in the projects that are integral to the improvement of navigation conditions in the country's ports.

How can we pull together and distribute the information necessary for the shipowners and ship operators in the fashion that their ships need so as to navigate the country's waters and ports safely? This was the question we put to hydrographic engineer Abel Horta of the SNHB.

He responded, "There is a statistical table of the ocean depths. Starting with this, a compilation is made of data gathered both on land and at sea; it deals with hydrographic studies, tide tables, knowledge of temperature trends, currents, winds, etc. All of these data are brought together in a table, and, after several other steps, a chart is prepared which is sold to anyone who is interested; it informs them as to the routes to be taken in order to land in any given port."

By way of illustration, Horta said that the SNHB is about to carry out the hydrographic study of Inhaca through a field study to be integrated with the study of the Bay of Maputo. The first phase, which involved activities started between the Matola River estuary and Buoy 4, has already been completed, according to him.

The navigation chart for the locale is already prepared.

"It was completely conceptualized and executed by Mozambican technicians with the support of some Norwegian experts from NORAD. At present, the field teams of SNHB are working at the North Canal of the Bay of Maputo," he said.

According to Abel Horta, the President of the International Hydrographic Bureau, Adm D. Haslam, visited here last November to monitor the growth of SNHB, and he "was quite impressed" with the development of the group.

"While the admiral was here, we took the first steps toward becoming members of the International Hydrographic Organization. It was useful to learn the norms governing a country's membership in the organization. It was useful to learn how things work, and what are the latest developments in the field," he said.

The organization has 55 members, most of them European and Asian, and it coordinates the technical activities of the hydrographic services of the member countries. In Africa, only Nigeria, Zaire, and South Africa are members. If Mozambique should become a member of OHI, it would be only the fourth African country to do so.

But there is every reason to think that membership would be more of an advantage than an inconvenience: when the work of an OHI member country is published, international recognition follows.

This is positive for the country, because its ports are well documented, they are more competitive, and, as a result, they contribute to our ability to secure markets, ship traffic, and profits. In addition, there is the advantage that professional training, documentation, and a variety of information that is part of modern technology all improve.

"In order to further our qualification for membership, we are going to prepare a letter showing all of our international hydrographic norms, and this, along with work we have completed, will be sent to the National Directory of Geography and Surveys," said Abel Horta.

The other requirement necessary for admission is knowledge of the tonnage of all ships registered in Mozambique. Questionnaires have already been sent to entities that own ships of more than 100 tons, and it is based upon these that the annual quota is calculated.

Meanwhile, a tide meter is to be installed in Nacala as part of an international project of the intergovernmental Oceanographic Commission, which is interested in knowing about the changes in the average water level of the Indian Ocean.

"There already exist some tide meters to be used in the project, but as yet we lack the capacity for processing the resulting data. We send the data to Portugal, where the actual processing is done, said the engineer.

What is the Rehabilitation Project?

Just before the end of his December 29 visit to some companies in his sector, Minister Armando Guebuza went to the offic of the Marine Improvement Brigade, where the Brigade's director, Eugenio Muianga,

described to the Minister the rehabilitation project on aids to navigation, a project that can have a great impact nationally, regionally, and internationally.

The project consists of three main phases, and is supported by funding in the amount of 55 million crowns provided by Swiss financing through the ASDI, and other domestic funding.

Meanwhile, because of the urgent need to make port traffic more profitable in Maputo harbor through aids to navigation that can attract more ships, there is an additional project for the port of Maputo called the "Port of Maputo Emergency Program." Funding has been secured in the amount of 1,5 million Swiss crowns, through ASDI, and an additional amount of 10 million meticals will be provided by the Mozambican government.

The emergency program is slated to be completed by March 1988, and it is predicted that, by May, implementation of the first phase of the project for aids to navigation will be initiated.

12857

Nkomati Valley Rehabilitation Under Way With Italian Help

34420084b Maputo NOTICLAS in Portuguese 14 Jan 87 p 3

[Article by Filipe Siucia of the GCS]

[Text] The Italian Government is carrying out two agricultural projects valued at \$2 million in the Manhica District of Maputo. The first is a rural extension project for supporting the family sector by providing farm equipment and seed. The director of the Manhica Production Unit, Lina Magaia, has announced that the second project is intended to rehabilitate 4,000 hectares in the Nkomati Valley (2,000 hectares in Manhica and the rest in the Marracuene District). She also said that the projects were started a year ago and would be completed in 2 years.

Lina Magaia explained that the rural extension project will take part in improving the maternity clinic in Maluana and building another such clinic in the communal village of Malavele. School construction and four water holes are also planned for Pateque and Malavele.

The director of the Manhica Production Unit said that the rehabilitation program for the Nkomati Valley is also receiving financial support from nongovernmental organizations such as Man's World of the FRG, ELVETAS of Switzerland, CUSO [Canadian University Service Overseas] of Canada, and Swiss Cooperation.

Lina Magaia announced that that Man's World had granted the program in the Manhica region \$350,000 and provided 50 metric tons of seed. The money will be used to help improve socioeconomic conditions in the villages. ELVETAS plans to help the communal village of Munguine build an irrigation system covering 300 hectares.

Training Center

Director Lina Magaia also announced that an agricultural training center would be established in Manhica to train peasants as instructor-supervisors. The instructors will benefit from material incentives. She said that construction of the center is scheduled to start in September of next year.

The experts at the training center will be responsible for helping the peasants improve their farming methods so as to produce better yields. The center will receive assistance from UNICEF, Swiss Cooperation, Swiss ELVETAS, and CUSO.

Lina Magaia considers production by the peasants during the 1986-1987 agricultural season satisfactory despite action by the armed bandits. She praised the efforts made by the villagers on behalf of agricultural production.

Director Magaia criticized the behavior of a number of private farmers who receive tractors and wagons but accomplish little. She said that factors of production should be supplied to patriotic farmers who, despite the actions of the bandits, continue to produce food and demand nothing.

11798

Cabo Delgado Lumber Company To Increase Exports

34420083a Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 31 Dec 87 p 27

[Text] The economic and financial recovery of the Cabo Delgado Lumber Company has been under way since last August in accordance with the measures laid down in the Economic Recovery Program [PRE]. The program adopted in this connection calls for doubling exports of blackwood and rosewood during the first half of 1988 and consequently paying off the bank loans—estimated at about 144 million meticals including taxes—that have accumulated since 1983.

The director of Cabo Delgado Lumber told our reporters that a positive program for the enterprise's recovery had been drawn up in August. The program is aimed at reaching the installed capacity (an estimated 3,500 cubic meters of sawnwood) while also moving closer to the goals for forest exploitation, which call for 25,000 cubic meters.

According to what our reporters were told, that activity involves rehabilitation of the equipment and the means of transportation. The director of MADEMO said that implementation of the program is possible because the

measures introduced by the PRE allow greater effectiveness and autonomy in financial management, especially as regards the bank loans and the deposit funds resulting from exports.

In August, the Cabo Delgado Lumber Company exported 3,000 metric tons of rosewood. It is expected that more rosewood and blackwood in the form of sawnwood and logs will be exported by the end of 1987. The same source said, although he did not disclose any figures, that the volume of exports will increase during the first half of 1988 and that markets are guaranteed.

The enterprise director said that thanks to the money earned from exports through September and local sales, it is already possible to pay off over half of the amount owed to banks.

"In view of that, our big concern is to export more and more. And incidentally, that is the main purpose of our enterprise. According to our calculations, this enterprise will be back in a state of financial equilibrium by the end of 1988."

National Market

Some controversy was stirred up last July concerning the exportation of lumber and its sale on the national market, specifically in Pemba.

It was learned by our reporters and confirmed by the director of the enterprise that some local authorities had spoken out against the enterprise, accusing its management of being concerned only with exports and not with supplying sawnwood to meet the needs of the indigent in Pemba.

The same source told our reporters: "That matter was debated several times, and I think it has now been settled. We are not ignoring the local market. It is important to understand the enterprise's need for rehabilitation, which means new equipment and vehicles that can only be obtained with foreign exchange. This is just a necessary phase on which all the work we may want to do for the national market and especially the Cabo Delgado market depends."

Compared to last year, the Cabo Delgado Lumber Company has reduced its sales of sawnwood, especially umbila, jambire, and other native species used in civil construction. This is due partly to the priority assigned to exports and partly to the fact that purchasing power has declined as a result of the higher price of sawnwood under the terms of the PRE.

Background

The Cabo Delgado Lumber Company was established in 1982-1983 when MADEMO was closed down. The new company had debts estimated at thousands of contos even then because of its purchases of miscellaneous

equipment. But its situation has grown worse since 1983-1984 because of deteriorating equipment and the consequent reduction in the volume of exports and foresting operations.

Another, equally important issue has to do with current knowledge concerning timber reserves in Cabo Delgado. There is no accurate information, according to the director of the Cabo Delgado Lumber Company. On the other hand, the number of companies and the level of logging operations have increased substantially over the past 3 years with the arrival of the joint Mozambican-Algerian company and a private company.

A source at the Provincial Directorate of Agriculture told our reporters that a forest survey of exploited and unexploited areas will soon be carried out with FAO support to obtain a true picture of the forest. It is known that there is a lot of timber, but in many areas there are no real estimates.

The thing that concerns the local authorities is the increase in logging operations and the absence or insignificant level of reforesting based on previously defined programs.

11798

Agricultural Training Center Established in Gaza 34420083b Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 31 Dec 87 p 27

[Text] A school for training technicians in the agricultural sector has been operating since last November in Gaza Province—more specifically, in the village of Chiduachine, Chilembene Administrative Post, Chokwe District.

The school, located in the trading settlement of Chiduachine, was established in implementation of the guidelines laid down by the late president, Samora Machel.

The training center for agricultural technicians in Gaza had been operating experimentally since August 1986, and it was officially opened during the last week of November at a ceremony presided over by the first party secretary and governor of Gaza, Francisco Pateguane.

The center is equipped to provide agricultural training for peasant supervisors, administrators of administrative posts, village heads, and other individuals involved in rural extension. The center operates with 7 extension workers and 15 workers and has 6 hectares of land for demonstrating results to its trainees. Its specific objective is to train peasants in all technical areas so as to improve production results.

Domingos Mucavele, who is in charge of the center, told our reporters that a stockraising sector is also in operation in the locality. Its purpose is to demonstrate the way to raise ducks, chickens, and other species for the benefit of the peasants and later to expand the experiment. In the case of that unit, there is an initial plan for raising 400 ducks in one of the neighborhoods in the locality's administrative center. A veterinary technician assigned to the school will assist in the program.

Establishment of Center

Assisting in the establishment of this school were the provincial government and the Maputo Agricultural Training Center, which provided help in obtaining teaching materials, equipment, and furniture. According to our interlocutor, there was also participation by the FAO, which provided some money in foreign currency to cover the center's expenditures.

The training center for agricultural cadres in Chiduachine is equipped to train from 25 to 30 people for periods of 15 or 90 days, depending on their particular field. Currently underway is a course on the preservation of farm produce.

11798

Housing Project in South for Overseas Workers 34420083c Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 7 Jan 88 p 8

[Text] Two of the 100 houses to be built in the Fomento District of the city of Matola as part of the Housing Construction Project for Mozambican workers abroad will be completed and delivered within 20 days, according to Firmino Banze, a civil engineer from the Southern Regional Construction Company, during an inspection of the construction site on Tuesday by Joao Mario Salomao, minister of construction and water.

The project is being financed by the Ministry of Construction and Water as part of the Program for the Promotion of Housing Construction, which covers the entire country.

Plans call for building a total of 100 houses in the Fomento District and a total of 2,050 in various districts in Maputo, Gaza, and Inhambane Provinces over the next 6 years.

According to engineer Firmino Banze, the two houses could have been delivered during the first few days of this month if problems with the lack of building materials had not arisen.

Under ideal conditions, one house per month can be built. The design of the houses to be built differs, and the average value of each is estimated at around 5 million meticals.

According to what we were able to learn on the spot, the way in which buyers will pay for the houses has not yet been determined, but two plans are already foreseen: immediate payment in cash and payment in installments.

Mozambican workers abroad are already being invited to view the two models of the houses that will be delivered within 20 days, according to an official in the Ministry of Construction and Water.

The first house has three bedrooms, a living room, a kitchen, a bathroom, a front porch, a cesspool, and a backyard. The second has four bedrooms plus all the features mentioned in connection with the first house. Each house occupies a lot 20 meters wide and 30 meters long, including the backyard.

The minister of construction and water, who was accompanied by a few officials from his ministry, spent part of Tuesday morning inspecting the two houses which have been under construction there since November of last year.

Encouraging Measures Announced

Antonio Cossa, coordinator of the Mozambican Workers Commission for citizens working abroad, told us: "The measures announced by President Joaquim Chissano signify to us that our country's party and its government share our concerns."

He was referring to the steps being taken by the government this year to involve Mozambicans working and living abroad in our country's socioeconomic activities.

He said that although they are out of the country, many Mozambican citizens have expressed their concern to make their contribution to the activities of national reconstruction despite the innumerable problems with which the country is struggling.

Antonio Cossa said it was from that standpoint that he felt it was also important and possible to involve the sons of emigrants working in neighboring countries in the task of defending the fatherland.

He said that the establishment of institutions for keeping track of the activities of Mozambicans abroad is extremely useful, since it is known that there are certain people bent on discouraging their participation in the life of the country.

"Only through the work to be done by those institutions will it be possible for those still vacillating to make their contribution to the fatherland whose citizens they are." said Antonio Cossa.

He also maintained that the work to be done by those agencies might be decisive in a later phase, particularly in the solution of a few problems afflicting emigrants.

Antonio Cossa was speaking to our reporters concerning President Joaquim Chissano's speech at the reception given last Monday for the Mozambican community residing in neighboring countries on the occasion of the New Year.

Company Resumes Export of Steel Rods to Indian Ocean Region

34420069h Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 29 Dec 87 p 3

[Text] The CIFEL has resumed exportation of its rolled products with the sale at the beginning of the month of 200 tons of steel rods to the Indian Ocean islands of Reunion. Comoro, and Mauritius off the African coast, according to information given NOTICIAS by the company's director, Jordao Vilanculos.

He pointed out that Reunion had until shortly before independence been one of the principal importers of CIFEL products, along with England and Iran.

For example, according to the book "Portugal and Miltinational Capital in Mozambique," second volume, the CIFEL exported 20,000 tons to the three countries in 1972, valued at 90,000 contos.

The case of Reunion involves an old market which is being recaptured by the company with products serving the sugar, construction, cement and agricultural industries.

Jordao Vilanculos said that the recent export of rods will be continued, with prospects for a growing market for CIFEL production.

He added that the conquest of new markets is a present necessity because of the sharp recession in the internal market, resulting from the increase in the prices set by PRE. He illustrated this by citing the existence of a stock of rolled products of about 800 tons from last month.

Current Production

The CIFEL has three industrial divisions—metallurgical, siderugical, and metal mechanics/maintenance. In the siderurgical area, the supply of raw materials for the production of rods and wire has been better than initially expected, contrary to what has occurred in the foundry, particularly for the production of steel. In the metal mechanics area the level of production is conditioned by customer orders.

Director Jordao Vilanculos assured NOTICIAS that the production of wire and rods will reach about 8,000 tons this year as against the 4,500 tons originally expected, due to the receipt of a greater quantity of material than planned.

In the foundry sector indications are that production will reach 520 of the 600 tons fixed as the goal for this year, while in the steel foundry it will onl be possible to achieve 10 percent of the 300 tons planned.

According to Vilanculos, this fact is due to the lack of raw material needed for the production of steel. He added, "We had intended to import raw material for the production of steel with money for the purchases of [figure illegible] thousand tons of billets. It was only in November, however, that we learned that it would not be possible to obtain that amount."

NOTICIAS has learned that a World Bank loan is contemplated for CITEL, which would permit it to acquire spare parts for its several sectors as well as raw material. If this objective is achieved the company will be able to increase its productivity.

The company, the only one of its kind in Mozambique, has since 1978 manufactured rolls for sugar mills with their related components, thus saving the country more than a million contos in foreign exchange.

Labor Force

Asked to comment on worker training, Jordao Vilanculos said that dozens of company workers were sent abroad for specialization courses. Concurrently, in the company itself there is a continuing process of upgrading the professional skills of the workers.

Referring to the impact of the area's economic rehabilitation program, the CIFEL director added that none of his workers were laid off. Next year, if all goes as planned, there will be a need for more workers, according to Vilanculos.

He pointed out, for example, that at the present time the installed capacity of some sectors of the company is not being utilized. They should all be in continuous operation for 24 hours, but there are cases of only 16 hour operation.

Jordao Vilanculos emphasized that the PRE is imposing a new dynamic in the operation of the company by requiring an improvement in product quality and greater aggressiveness in marketing.

12942/08309

Former Natural Disasters Official Sentenced for Embezzlement

34420070c Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 28 Dec 87 p 3

[Text] The Provincial Popular Court of Manica recently convicted six defendants involved in the embezzlement of state funds and assets estimated as being worth 4,876,395.00 meticals. Included among those sentenced was the former director of the Department to Prevent

and Combat Natural Disasters, Agostino Borges Zacarias, who received a 2-year prison term for bad management and improper use of that institution's vehicles for personal gain.

The case was discovered last July, when a truck belonging to the merchant Cassamo Omar was proceeding to load grain, and a forged waybill authorizing its departure was found in his possession. He claimed that the product was intended for those recovered from the Gondola district, whereas it was actually being taken to illegal market chains.

In addition to Agostinho Borges Zacarias and the aforementioned merchant, who was acquitted for lack of evidence, Maria Stela Alvaro Matos Mugoi, Mariano Jange, Cidaria Maria Natividade Nhompole, Fernando Miguel and Flavia Jose Mucheiro Julio, all employees of that department, were implicated in the "case of the 400 bags of corn."

Maria Stela Alvaro Matos Mugoi and Flavia Jose Mucheiro Julio, sentenced to terms of 3 and 6 years, respectively, must also pay compensation to the Department of Natural Disasters, jointly, owing to the misappropriation of assets on their part, totaling 288,000.00 meticals. The former will receive 10 whiplashes for engaging in the crime of speculation.

During the course of its deliberations, the TPPM [Provincial Popular Court of Manica] decided to impose on the accused, Agostinho Borges Zacarias and Mariano Jange a 2-year term in a major prison, and payment of the legal tax and the fee to the unofficial defender; and the second individual must pay compensation for the assets stolen from that institution.

The former natural disasters director must also pay 540,000 meticals as a set penalty, 30,000 meticals for the legal tax, 3,000 meticals to the unofficial defender, and 38,880.00 meticals to the department, fortransporting bricks and cement for personal purposes.

The presiding judge of the TPPM who handed down these verdicts, Inacio Ombe, also sentenced the accused Fernando Miguel and Cidaria Maria Natividade Nhompole to terms of 18 and 15 months in prison; thereby concluding the controversial trial known in Chimoio as the "case of the 400 bags of corn," which culminated in the dismantling of a ring of thieves infiltrated into the Provincial Department to Prevent and Combat Natural Disasters in Manica, of which the director himself was a member.

2909

Babangida Postpones Launching of Fifth Development Plan

34000354a Lagos DAILY TIMES in English 1 Jan 88 p 24

[Text] The Fifth National Development Plan due to have been launched in 1988 has been postponed to January 1, 1989.

President Ibrahim Babangida announced this last night in his 1988 budget speech.

In announcing the postponement, President Babangida said, "the case for another postponement of the plan rests on the necessity, for separating the socio-politically urgent, short-term problem of economic stabilisation and structural recovery from the less frantic problem of medium-to-long-term development process."

The President gave reasons for the postponement of the plan which is some years behind schedule.

He said, "At the inception of this administration, in August 1985, it will be remembered that work on the fifth national development plan was reported to be nearing completion."

He said the declaration of economic emergency from October 1985 to December 1986 inevitably implied a postponement of the plan, adding, the "launching of the two-year Structural Adjustment Programme in 1986 raised serious questions about the wisdom of commencing such a fundamental plan either in January 1987 or even in 1988."

The President added: "there should also be an adequate breathing space to enable the full import and lessons of the Structural Adjustment Programme to be disgested and incorporated into the fifth national development plan."

08309

1988 Federal Revenue Estimated at \$6.75 Billion 34000351b Lagos DAILY TIMES in English 1 Jan 88 p 24

[Text] Total federally collectable revenue this year is expected to amount to N27.102 billion.

Out of this, N25.317 billion would go to the Federation account while the balance of N1.785 billion would be federally retained under the 1988 budget.

Applying the existing revenue allocations formula, the Federal Government's share would be N13.924 billion and the total Federal revenue expected for the year is N15.709 billion.

Shares of the states and local Governments stood at N8.228 billion and N2.532 billion respectively.

The sum of N316 million would go to mineral and oil producing areas as statutory allocation and N238 million for ecological problems.

In view of the critical nature of the Exchange rate of the naira, the Federal Government had resolved to vigorously implement its non-oil export promotion programmes and the new revised tarift system in order to boost the markets funding as well as reducing unnecessary demand for foreign exchange.

08309

External Reserves Estimated at \$1.3 Billion in November

34000356h Lagos DAILY TIMES in English 30 Dec 87 p 1

[Text] Nigeria's external reserve position stood at N4.634 billion at the end of November.

This figure shows a significant improvement of about N494 million above that of October which was N4.14 billion.

The Central Bank monthly return of assets and liabilities just released gave the breakdown of the figure.

These include N19 million in gold, N4.614 billion in foreign government securities and balances with foreign bank; N3,830 IMF gold tranche and N616,774 in special drawing rights.

This figure is N264 million higher than that of October which stood at N5.814.

08309

NLC Confronts Babaginda Over Oil Subsidy 34000357b Ikeja NEWSWATCH in English 11 Jan 88 pp 14-19

[Article by Dan Agbese with Wale Oladepo, Kola Ilori and John Ebri]

[Text] December 14, 1987. Lasisi Osunde, general secretary, Nigerian Labour Congress, NLC, was a tired man. As he prepared to leave his office at 29 Olajuwon Street, Yaba, Lagos, he remembered, much to his annoyance, that he still had an invitation from the State Security Service, SSS, to answer. He had been invited to the headquarters of the service earlier in the day. He was too busy then to answer the call. Now, he had to. Osunde requested his two colleagues, Salisu Mohammed, nead of information and public relations of the congress and Stephen Oshidipe, the treasurer, to accompany him to the offices of the security service, Awolowo Road, Ikoyi.

The three men arrived there at 7.00 p.m. They were received by Akin Jacob, a major. Jacob told Osunde that "the big boss who wanted to see him" was not available.

Osunde turned to leave. Not so fast, he was told. Jacob did not have instructions to let him and his two colleagues return home that night.

They were taken into a room in want of a bed. Two sofas came in handy for Osunde and Mohammed. Oshidipe curled up on cushions spread on the floor. Fourteen hours later, the three men were taken to see the "big boss." He turned out to be Jacob himself. Osunde exploded.

December 18, 1987. At 11.00 a.m., Osunde, Mohammed and Oshidipe were brought to the outer offices of the cavernous headquarters of the SSS. Ten minutes later, a fourth man joined them. He was Ali Chiroma, president of the NLC. Unknown to Osunde and his colleagues, Chiroma had been in detention for three days. He refused to eat food.

The four men were driven to the headquarters of the NLC. Armed men sealed off the building. Chiroma's office was thoroughly searched. Files containing minutes of the meetings of both the national administrative council and the central working committee of the congress from 1983-87 were removed.

A weary Chiroma did not bother himself asking the security men for a search warrant. Osunde was not prepared to take chances. He asked to see a search warrant authorising them to search his office. The men obliged. Osunde was aghast. The search warrant was "an order from Her Majesty's Government." It wasn't a joke. "How can you give me this type of order in a country with 27 years of independence?" Osunde queried.

On December 21, the four men regained their freedom. Oshidipe was particularly happy to be back with his baby girl born a day before he answered the invitation that kept him away from home for a week. The NLC has nicknamed her Labour Girl.

Thus ended the second major encounter between the federal government and the Nigerian Labour Congress in 18 months. The first was on June 4, 1986, when the police sealed off the NLC headquarters and aborted an emergency meeting of the 44 industrial member unions of the congress. The NLC had planned a solidarity rally in sympathy with Ahmadu Bello University students killed in a clash with the police. On June 5, the government issued a statement accusing the NLC of subversion. The government said the congress had engaged with certain persons it did not name in activities aimed at undermining state security. It claimed it had information that the NLC had a well-laid out plan to cause disaffection and that it was trying to use the students' crisis as a shield to undermine security. It viewed the statement issued by the NLC on the students' crisis as confrontational and seditious.

Chiroma, Osunde and four others were detained by the government. Labour was roundly whipped. The New Nigerian snorted in an editorial June 6: "The NLC was foolish to test the will of government when it could hardly resist government's awesome instruments of violence."

This time around, the NLC has vowed to resist those instruments. Three days after the labour chieftains and some state officials of the congress in Ondo, Kano, Oyo, Kwara, Ogun and Bendel states were allowed home, the central working committee met in Lagos and issued a chest-thumping communique in which it made it clear it would not be cowed by the detention of its leaders. The communique advised the government "to desist from future harassment, arrest and detention of trade union leaders." It vowed that "any acts of future arrests, detention and occupation will be decisively resisted." It reaffirmed "its total commitment to the on-going campaign against the possible removal of oil subsidy."

Oil subsidy. The congress says that is the cause of the present quarrel between the government and the NLC. But Tony Momoh, minister of information, told the British Broadcasting Corporation, BBC, at an interview that the labour leaders were protesting not only against the government's plan to remove what is left of the petroleum subsidy but the entire economic recovery programme. Momoh was partly right. The information department of the congress has been issuing a series of posters and handbills critical of a number of government policies which the NLC considers to be inimical to the interests of Nigerian workers. One of these was the National Minimum Wage (Amendment) Order 1986, which amended the National Minimum Wage Act of 1981. Under the amendment, firms employing fewer than 500 workers were exempted from paying the national minimum wage of N125 a month. The original act put the minimum number of employees of firms obliged to pay the wage at 50. The amendment also put workers in the agricultural sector, irrespective of number, beyond the pale of that act.

A congress of the NLC held from March 18 to 19, 1987, rejected the amendment and urged government to withdraw it. Its information department promptly issued handbills which it described the amendment as "another intolerable assault on Nigerian workers." It provided a cost of living index showing that the prices of basic household requirements and food had increased between 150 percent and 500 percent, thus reducing the effective purchasing power of the N125 minimum wage to "no more than N35."

On May I, 1987, President Ibrahim Babangida said the amendment "was motivated by our desire to increase employment creation, especially in small-scale industries and agricultural operations. Unfortunately, this intention was misunderstood." And government bowed to "public opinion and the expressed wishes of the labour movement." The amendment was scrapped.

But that hardly mollified the workers. Out on the May Day rally in Lagos and the state capitals, the workers heckled and booed top government functionaries who delivered the president's May Day message. At the National Stadium, Lagos, workers carried placards, protesting the government's economic measures. A sampler: "SFEM IS IMF IN DISGUISE"; "Structural Adjustment Programme? No. Structural Disengagement Programme? Yes"; "Police dey suffer, army dey chop"; "Hungary men don't march."

Their leaders could not stop them. Ike Nwachukwu, then a brigadier (now a major-general and minister of external affairs) and minister of labour, employment and productivity, felt frustrated. He turned to Chiroma and barked: "These are not workers but hooligans." He reportedly described the workers' unruly protest as "a civilian coup." The Guardian newspaper disagreed with that. In an editorial May 7, the paper said: "The May Day protest was an expression of the mood of our people and the authorities should do everything to ameliorate the harsh material conditions in which they now live."

That protest put the government in a foul mood. It convinced the government that the labour unions were out to sabotage its economic and political programmes. It was time to put the labour leaders under close security watch. At every opportunity, top government functionaries could hardly contain their anger with the labour leaders. For instance, on August 14, 1987, Chiroma led a three-man delegation to see the chief of general staff, Augustus Aikhomu, a vice-admiral. Aikhomu told the NLC leaders to stop seeing the congress as an "opposition party" to the government and warned its leaders against seeking to impose their views on the generality of Nigerians. He then told them: "This administration has tried to do a number of things not only in the interest of the workers but also in the interest of the larger majority of the population." He was clearly unhappy that instead of the workers being grateful for what the government hac done, they chose to express their ingratitude by either opposing certain government measures or protesting their discomfort.

Yusuf Mamman, press secretary to the CGS, echoed the same sentiments when he told Newsweek: "NLC was disgraced by the previous (Buhari) regime. It could not bare its teeth under that climate of terror. It is now that its leaders think they can exude some form of militancy."

But Mamman got it wrong. Workers did protest on May Day, 1985, when Buhari was in power. At the National Stadium, Lagos, they protested the difficulties imposed by the government as part of its economic recovery plan. The rally was rowdy. A sampler of placards: "Baboon dey work, monkey dey chop"; "Government dey retrench, government dey promote." The latter was a reference to the promotion of senior military officers to the rank of major-general or equivalent in the navy and the air force even as the mass retrenchment of workers was going on.

Buhari himself clearly misread the signal, therefore, when he said at the same occasion: "Nigerian workers...have shown an appreciable degree of understanding of the magnitude and complex nature of the nation's problems." If they understood why government did what it did the protest was hardly the best way to show it. And in his speech, Chiroma carpeted the government for the arrest and detention of some Nigerians, the banning of some professional associations such as the Nigerian Medical Association and the National Association of Nigerian Students. Said he: "To insist on clamping down on the slightest opposition is to open the door to despotism and dictatorship. Such a posture is indefensible in this golden age of the sovereignty of the people." He condemned the execution of cocaine pushers, saying: "It is our candid opinion that the execution of cocaine pushers is primitive and futile."

There is, however, no doubt that since April last year, the NLC has waged a consistent and spirited poster and handbill war against a number of government measures and even legislation. Its bulletin number two of April 10 attacked decree number 37 of 1986. The decree empowers state governments to charge and deduct development levies from the sate les of workers at source. The NLC said the decree onot only punitive but violates the right of workers to earn their legitimate salaries and enjoy them in full." It claimed that the law did not affect "members of the armed forces and the police." It argued that the law, in effect, negated the tax relief granted workers in the 1987 budget and was one more evidence that the government takes with the left hand what it gives workers with the right hand. It called on the workers to "militantly defend" their "rights to live."

Other bulletins dealt with the wage freeze and the alleged non- or irregular payment of pension benefits to retired men and women. "Do you know," bulletin number five asked workers, "that throughout the federation, pensioners who are supposed to be enjoying sweet rest after many years of service to the nation have been dying by instalments as a result of non-payment of retirement benefits, irregular payment of the meagre monthly pensions, gratuity and other entitlements?" It appealed to workers not to remain unconcerned about the plight of pensioners but "support (their) struggle against poverty, starvation, penury and destitution."

At first, the government did not think much of these handbills. Newswatch was told by usually reliable sources that the government's attitude was to ignore them because it did not believe many people knew about them or even bothered to read them. "The messages were wasted and there was nothing to them," one source said.

On December 10, the government woke up to a new campaign tactic by the NLC. On that day, the Daily Times and Punch newspapers published an advertisement by the congress which meticulously took up the government on its decision to remove what is left of the petroleum subsidy from this year. Two other national

dailies, the New Nigerian and the National Concord, rejected the advertisement. In it, the NLC punctured every argument put out in unsigned advertisements in the print and electronic media in support of the withdrawal of the oil subsidy. The NLC said the unsigned advertisements put out by government agencies were "just a case of how not to lie with statistics." It said the money used to sponsor the advertisements was "another testimony of how public funds are being wasted to deceive the people of Nigeria...."

The NLC then went on to compare the per capita income in Nigeria with those of three other oil-producing nations such as Venezuela, Gabon and Kuwait. Nigeria takes the rear with N541. In Kuwait, it is N14,257 and N1,351 in Gabon. It admitted that petroleum price in Nigeria is the cheapest at 39.5 kobo per litre compared with N1.90 in Gabon and 72 kobo in Kuwait. But this alone, the NLC said, does not tell the whole story. It went on to compare the minimum wages of four oil-producing countries-Nigeria, Gabon, Cameroun and Cote d'Ivoire. Nigeria is the least with N125 or \$30 per month compared with N364 or \$90 in each of the other three countries. The congress went further to compare graduate earnings in Nigeria with what obtains in Gabon, Cameroun and Cote d'Ivoire. It came to N420 or \$105 in Nigeria compared with N1,620 or \$405 in Gabon and N1.560 or \$390 each in Cameroun and Cote d'Ivoire. "Thus," said the congress, "Nigerian workers earn 58 percent less than workers in potentially poor countries of Gabon, Cameroun and Cote d'Ivoire. Graduate earners in Nigeria are even worse off than their counterparts in these countries because they earn 73 percent less in a month!"

The government felt the time had come to pay close attention to the NLC and its leaders. Government's declared intention to remove the remaining 20 percent subsidy (80 percent was withdrawn in 1986) had generated intense public debate. Efforts by the congress to put a lie to government's propaganda was viewed as a serious affront and it was felt something had to be done urgently. In addition to theadvertisement, the NLC had begun to mobilise workers throughout the country. National and state officials of the congress toured the country, urging their members to be prepared for a show-down with the government if it went ahead to withdraw the subsidy.

Apparently, the NLC was itself "mobilised" by the government to take up the fight. This is how it happened. Sometime in the last quarter of last year, the presidential advisory committee, a think tank of economic and political gurus with offices in Dodan Barracks which has the ears of the president, requested the NLC to make some inputs to the 1988 budget being prepared. The congress submitted its memo and included its views on petroleum subsidy withdrawal. Osunde told Newswatch: "Congress' position is very clear on the issue. We opposed it. But after submitting the memo, we began to notice some funny reactions from government circles. News and rumours started circulating to the effect that

the NLC had been consulted (on the withdrawal of petroleum subsidy) and that it 'showed understanding' of the government's position on the matter."

The NLC instantly understood what it was up against. It had its 1986 experience as a rough guide. The government had sought its opinion then on its plan to remove 80 percent of petroleum subsidy. The congress was opposed to it and said so. But, according to Osunde, "the news that came out of the discussion was that we 'showed understanding'." Other members of the congress nearly lynched their leaders. This time, the NLC vowed it would not allow its leaders to be put in an awkward position. When a series of unsigned advertisements in favour of the withdrawal began to appear in the nation's news media from October 23, the NLC felt it was time to go to war.

The national administrative council of the congress met in Lagos in November and decided to counter the government's propaganda. Researchers were despatched to neighbouring West African countries to gather facts and figures on the cost of living. What they brought back made the congress very happy. Osunde marshalled these facts and figures and released them in the press. Government was stunned. But the NLC had more. It produced cartoons for the benefit of its semi-literate members and others "at the grassroots."

The response of NLC members was overwhelming. Osunde returned from a brief overseas visit December 13 to meet a huge pile of letters and telegrams from state councils of the congress supporting all the actions taken so far by the administrative council. An obviously elated Osunde was still sorting through this pile of correspondence December 14 when he received the invitation to the security headquarters. Shortly before their release one week later from detention. Osunde said he was "asked to sign a paper saying that we tried to subvert the government but I refused. I argued that our action was constitutional and in no way subversive."

The government did consider prosecuting them for sedition and subversion. Yusuf Mamman told reporters December 16 the men would be charged to court for those offences because they wanted to subvert the government through a nationwide industrial unrest. Mamman said the government's position was that the NLC's strident opposition to the withdrawal of petroleum subsidy was engineered by business interests whose fortunes had been affected by government's scrapping of the import licensing system in the structural adjustment programme, SAP, Joseph Ajala, federal director of prosecutions, confirmed the same day that the labour men would be charged for sedition.

Then surprise, Justice Ministry officials announced that the labour leaders were being detained under the amended Decree Two of 1986. The congress decided to go to court to challenge the detention of its leaders. Its lawyer, Alao Aka-Bashorun, president, Nigerian Bar Association, took the case to a Lagos High Court. When NLC officials and their lawyer turned up in the court December 21, Justice Idowu Agoro told them the ministry of justice had filed an application challenging the jurisdiction of the court to hear the case. Aka-Bashorun, fazed by the new development, told the court that the minister of justice and attorney-general of the federation, Bola Ajibola, had told him there were moves to settle the matter out of court. The judge adjourned the case to December 23—enough time, he reckoned, to see if the matter would be settled out of court.

But whatever case the justice ministry had against the NLC leaders was considerably weakened by an apparently unexpected development in Akure, Ondo State. There, December 19, an Akure High Court ruled that the arrest and detention of five union officials in the state was "illegal, null and void." That ruling could not have escaped federal justice officials. Something else irked them. In 1983, the Anambra State government charged Arthur Nwankwo to court on charges of sedition. Nwankwo had published a pamphlet detailing what he considered to be examples of mismanagement by Jim Nwobodo, the state governor. An Onitsha High Court decided the case in favour of the state. But the federal court of appeal sitting in Enugu put the judgment of the lower court through the shredder. The court declared: "The law of sedition is a derogation from the freedom of speech guaranteed under the constitution and is therefore inconsistent with the constitution. Nigeria is no longer the illiterate or mob society the colonial masters had in mind when the law of sedition was promulgated."

Quite unexpectedly, the labour leaders were let off December 21. There was a comic relief to their departure from the security headquarters. Security officials offered to drop the men off at a bus-stop. Mohammed objected to this and told them: "We are not in a hurry. We have been here for a week. You either drop us in our houses or we stay here." The security men felt it was better they didn't stay. They took the labour leaders to their individual houses.

Mamman told Newswatch the release of the labour leaders was "part of the government's magnanimity. It was also due to the fact that people from all walks of life appealed to the government that the labour leaders be given another chance." True, appeals poured in on behalf of the men (see box). Mamman said the government dropped prosecution of the labour leaders "because it believes that when you forgive, it should be in totality."

It was unlikely that forgiveness was one of the issues that weighed the government's decision in favour of letting the unionists go. Labour analysts offered two possible explanations. One was the charged atmosphere generated by the hostile public reaction to the government's decision to withdraw the oil subsidy. Top government functionaries charged with the responsibility for selling the idea to the public were making a charming mess of eating their own boiled eggs. They offered explanations

and sponsored debates mostly on television which did little to mollify the public. Government was put in a difficult situation. If it went ahead with the prosecution of the labour leaders over such a controversial matter on which it could count its supporters outside the corridors of power, it might aggravate the situation and the labour leaders would be the better for it. On the other hand, if it went ahead to detain them under Decree Number 2, it was not sure what the reaction of Nigerian workers, left without a leadership, would be, particularly if it went ahead with the decision to withdraw the subsidy.

The second possible explanation offered by trade union analysts was that if it punished the labour leaders, the government would make them folk heroes. Workers might see them as champions suffering for them. Mamman admitted the second reason did feature in the consideration of government in releasing them and dropping charges. He told Newswatch: "We don't want to make martyrs out of them. Many of them would have opted to remain in detention because that will lend credence and legitimacy to their leadership.

Leadership. Mamman put his finger on a sore point in the congress. Chiroma himself has been repeatedly accused of not offering a decisive leadership. He is said to vacillate even on crucial issues affecting the interests of workers. Newswatch was told by dependable sources close to the NLC that some of the unions within the NLC umbrella have often accused the leadership of selling out to government on matters in which they should stand up for the workers.

One example is often given as evidence of Chiroma's lack of decisiveness. During the police/students' clash at the Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, in May 1986, Chiroma could not decide what the workers would do to show their solidarity with or sympathy for the students. He first of all referred the decision on what form the expression of solidarity—a strike action or a protest march—should take to the central working committee of the congress. Before the committee could take action, Chiroma passed it on to the national executive committee. By the time the unionists were ready to discuss the matter, the crisis had worn thin and security forces were ready for them. Thus, when they gathered at the national headquarters of the congress June 4 to take a decision, police sealed up the place and carted the leaders into detention. Left without their leaders, the workers dispersed.

At the triennial delegates conference of the Lagos State Council of the NLC April 1985, Chiroma appealed to Nigerian workers to make greater sacrifices in the national interest. He asked union members to give him a free hand to make him "more effective in facing the challenges ahead." But Oweiehena Atie, outgoing state chairman of the council, disagreed with his leader. Said he: "In the name of sacrifice, workers are made to face indiscriminate retrenchment, terminations, dismissals and compulsory retirements." At the time of this brief slanging match in the ranks of labour, over 300,000

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Nigerians had been let loose on the labour market by the Buhari administration which sought to lessen the financial burden on the government at federal and state levels. Workers must have been sorely disappointed to learn that their leaders did not speak with one voice on such a crucial matter affecting them.

The Nigerian Tribune in an editorial April 20, 1985, offered five reasons why the NLC had possibly been unable to rise up to the expected challenge of leadership to bring succour to the workers. Said the newspaper: "The reasons readily adduced for its stupor are that, one, there is a debilitating and mutual lack of trust amongst its leaders; two, an incongruous elitist structure has alienated the top from the rank and file members; three, a multiplicity of international affiliations has eroded commitment to the centre; four, ideological differences have militated against unanimity of opinions; and five, an inability to wean itself off government grants and gain financial and directional independence."

Chiroma is painfully aware of criticisms of his leadership. At the May Day rally in 1985, he told the workers: "For the past one year, we have quietly studied the enormous criticism of the Nigerian Labour Congress without getting too sensitive. However, many of the criticisms that have filled the newspapers and occupied many editorials have been something else. Their emotional slant looks more like the effect of frustrated and failed attempt to push the NLC to achieve objectives as defined by them."

Chiroma, like all leaders, faces internal and external problems. Newswatch gathered that there is a simmering friction among some of the unions affiliated with the NLC and within the NLC leadership itself. Chiroma admitted the latter and, in his speech referred to above, urged them "to differentiate between the longer term interest of the workers' movement and their feelings for me."

Newswatch learnt that some affiliate unions, notably the Dock Workers Union of Nigeria, National Union of Postal and Telegraph Employees, National Union of Electricity and Gas Workers, National Union of Air Transport Employees and the National Union of Road Transport Workers Union, are opposed to the leadership of the NLC. Without the support of such unions, a nation-wide strike action ordered by the NLC will fail.

Usually dependable sources told Newswatch that these unions remained aloof while the NLC leaders were mobilising the workers among other affiliate unions. Some leaders of those unions stopped short of denouncing the NLC action over the petroleum subsidy palaver. Newswatch was told that in the past, the government had exploited the schism in the unions to prevent labour leaders from taking a united stand against government measures considered to be against the interests of workers. In the case of the petroleum subsidy, union leaders have had to tread warily, knowing how emotionally charged it has become. A trade unionist, who requested

not to be named, told Newswatch: "The days of a union leader who acts contrary to the NLC on this matter are certainly over. The workers will lynch such a person."

The issue of petroleum subsidy has certainly become a litmus leadership test for the NLC. So far, Chiroma shows he now understands the game. The meeting of the central working committee held in Lagos December 23 was turned into a mini-rally punctuated with fiery speeches and solidarity songs. Chiroma told the workers: "To expect all Nigerians to sing the praises of the government at all times is impossible. There is no country in the world which has so far succeeded in destroying the trade union movement. As the government has a right to exist, so does the trade union movement."

In his new year message to Nigerian workers, Chiroma remained truculent. He reminded the workers that the state of emergency declared by the congress following government raction to their avowed opposition to the withdrawal of petroleum subsidy remains in force and pledged to continue the fight for improvement of their conditions. He asked workers to "reflect on the spate of intolerance being exhibited by the military regime on dissenting views in our policy."

Isa Aremu, assistant secretary, research and economics department of the NLC, told Newswatch it was clear to the leadership of the congress that the arrest and detention of the labour leaders was aimed at two things, namely, to cow the NLC and, secondly, to prevent the effective mobilisation of the workers. Shortly before Osunde and co. were arrested, all the 44 affiliated unions of the NLC had voted in favour of a nation-wide strike should government go ahead to withdraw the petroleum subsidy.

Clearly, the NLC leadership appears to be on a dry dock. A general election of the congress comes up February. If there is an eyeball-to-eyeball confrontation with the government and the NLC leadership does not blink, it will have won for itself a new mandate. If, however, the government crushes the leadership, there could be a different story. But so far, the leaders are hanging tough.

08309

Oil Producing Areas Mired in Poverty Amid Affluence

34000304b Ikeja NEWSWATCH in English 28 Dec 87 pp 28-29

[Article by Austen Oghuma: "So Near, So Far"]

[Text] Like most rural communities in Nigeria, Ugbokodo, a desolate village near Warri, Bendel State, has the features of neglect with no motorable road, no electricity, and no potable water supply. But unlike the other villages, however, civilization is in full force just behind Ugbokodo, with a good road network that leads to the roiling creeks of the delta, Shell Petroleum Development Company drills crude petroleum from five wells. Around the rigs, helicopter pads and the flow station, is a landscape of pipes, valves, tanks, drums, condenser srubbers, separation pumps and gas flaring station.

There is the constant throb and whir of motors, generators, turbines and fans, intermingled with the shipboard smell of diesel exhaust and lubricating oil. At full production, the five active wells yield about 13,000 barrels of crude oil a day. At the current rate of approximately \$18 per barrel, Ugbokodo contributes \$194,000 a day to the national coffers. But nothing in the village of about 15,000 people reflects this amount.

When Shell struck its first well in 1964, the villagers were so elated that they held parties. Said Mark O. Etiebo, the village head: "We saw the development as the beginning of a new era that would ultimately transform our village to a bustling modernity." This high expectation, however, has failed to materialize and the rural character of Ugbokodo has remained frozen in the past.

The only road to the village is impassable for the most part of the year, and this made it a hot political issue particularly during the Second Republic. So was the water needs of the people. During the 1983 election campaign, President Shehu Shagari awarded a borehole contrast to provide water for the villagers.

A water tank was erected, distribution pipes were laid all over the place. But before the project could be completed, the elections were over and the contractor abandoned it. In the past, however, the villagers attempted to provide electricity through their own communal efforts. They purchased a generating plant, wired the village but could not sustain light distribution after about six months when the cost of maintaining the plant became prohibitive. Confronted with these problems, they sent representatives to Shell for help. "We sought assistance for three major projects—to tar the seven-kilometre road stretch to link us with the refinery in Warri, connect the village to one of its two generating plants at the flow stations or help us to complete the borehole," said Etiebo. They had again demanded that they be allowed to lay water pipes to tap the water from Shell's borehole if the cost of completing the water project is too exorbitant for them.

But Shell officials were hesitant in committing any specific amount to such projects. They ruled out the possibility of extending their facilities to the village. Oil exploration, said E.M. Daukoru, Shell divisional manager, requires an uninterrupted supply of both water and electricity. "It is not good to link up domestic utilities with oil operations." Furthermore, Daukoru said that the oil company had no statutory obligation to embark on an extensive road construction. "It is the function of the government to ensure that life in oil-producing areas is improved."

"Eighty percent of our oil production goes to the government." But he pledged the company's support for the various development efforts of the community. In the past year, it constructed a science block for the only secondary school in the village and promised to give scholarship to deserving form one students every year. [as printed]

"These are tokens compared to the huge profits Shell rakes every year from its oil exploration in Nigeria," said Justina Okpako. The community always points to the unanticipated problems which came along with the oil company in 1964. There is the constant air pollution problem, toxins from the drilling muds, frequent disruption of wildlife and the fishing industry, which is the main occupation of the residents. In 1978, there was an oil spillage that seemed to have caused permanent damage to acquatic life in the area. Nobody really knows the extent of the damage, but the effects are still visible today.

The discovery of oil in Ugbokodo has contributed to its declining fortunes. The farmlands have been taken over by pipelines. From the oil wells, crude petroleum is pumped to the terminals at the NNPC refinery in Warri. Thus, most part of the village is surrounded either by gas pipes from the flow station to the flaring areas or by pipes conveying the crude oil to the refinery. "You can hardly dig anywhere without striking a pipe," said Peter Anazor, chairman of Ugbokodo youth wing. Again, since the gas pipes are laid horizontally, the process of releasing or flaring the gas is followed by a violent explosion; this and the blasting of bedrocks during drilling shake the foundations of the buildings around the villages.

Other communities in the oil producing areas have also been subjected to similar problems. They are finding the situation increasingly frustrating more so because the 1.5 percent of the national revenue or federation account earmarked for the oil-producing areas and the additional one percent ecology fund have been held up since 1981 mainly because of government bureaucracy and the inability of past regimes to evolve an acceptable sharing formula. Two months ago, however, the federal government tentatively accepted proposals by the Nigerian Association of Mineral-Producing Areas, NAMPAD, to establish two commissions to manage the funds as a means to ensure equitable distribution.

Early in October, six communities in Ahoada local government area of Rivers State went to court to ask for an order declaring that the state government "is not entitled to receive, manage or otherwise deal with the sum of money acruing to the mineral-producing areas in the state." The communities want the money to be sent directly to them to enable them to execute some of their on-going projects. "We are in a better position to know the significance of these projects. We can execute them faster than the government would," said Edwin James Ile, one of the plaintiffs. While presenting the 1987 budget, President Ibrahim Babangida said the government had allocated N351.9 million for the oil-producing

areas. About N231.9 million of the amount was set aside for development while the balance of N120 million was meant for solving ecological problems in the affected areas.

The Bendel State government was given N30 million as part of its share this year. After it got the money, it set up a committee to work on its disbursement. Also in Rivers State, a similar committee, made up of six commissioners, was set up in August this year to work out the modalities of spending the money acruing to the oil-producing communities in the state.

Nevertheless, the Association of Mineral-Producing Areas in Rivers State, AMPARS that claims to represent the oil communities of the state, has gone to great length to specify how their allocation from the federation account should be spent. First, it wants 10 percent of the fund to be used in setting up a bank to cater for the interests of the riverine areas. Such a bank—Mineral Areas Development Bank of Nigeria Limited—would accelerate physical development of the communities which have suffered utter neglect and deprivation over the past years. "Other commodities that contribute far much less amount of money to the federation account have had similar banks with full government support," said Harold J.R. Dappa-Birye, AMPARS spokesman.

The initial capital from Rivers State alone is estimated at N15 million which "is sufficient to float and license a bank to operate under the Nigerian banking decree of 1969." One percent of the share capital, says AMPARS, would be allocated to mineral-producing areas in other states, which would be assessed by local government area units, while 10 percent of the equity share would be reserved for off-shore banking participation. Says AMPARS: "The bank, if given final approval by the Federal Government, would accelerate the development of the oil communities in addition to stimulating development of minerals throughout the country."

The other area of interest to the association is the purchase of sizeable shares in the various companies, projects and schemes which the Rivers State government intends to privatise. Some of these companies are faltering because of liquidity problems. AMPARS says that with an infusion of additional fund from their share of the federation account, most of them would be financially stable.

08309

Slow Evacuation Causes Glut at Warri Refinery 34000357a Lagos DAILY TIMES in English 31 Dec 87 pp 1, 8

[Text] Warri Refinery is facing a glut of refined products, including petrol, due to slow evacuation.

The refinery's general manager, Dr. A Ola told Petroleum Minister Alhaji Rilwanu Lukman in Benin that after the recent successful overhauling of the plant, the refinery's main problem has been lack of storage space, due to slow evacuation of products.

This, he said, would ultimately affect the refinery's operations, if nothing is done.

Dr Ola said the overhaul of the refinery has resulted in relatively, smooth, steady and continuous operation of the units.

He said the refinery is now in a position to improve the supply of refined products to the domestic market, and that account should be taken of this in deciding what quantity of crude to refine abroad for domestic consumption.

The aim he said, should be to ensure that "a disrupting glut" of products does not occur which he said would adversely affect average processing costs at the refinery.

Dr. Ola told the minister that the refinery's Fluid-bed Catalytic Cracker unit FCC, a principal gasoline maker, which had hitherto been idle had also been successfully revamped.

The general manager also said that the refinery was already planning towards the next turnaround maintenance for 1989 during which all the remaining deficiencies would be removed.

Responding to the general manager's report, Alhaji Lukman charged the refinery staff to continue their good work and hinted that the "president might want to come and see the troublesome Warri Refinery himself when he comes to commission the petro-chemical plant."

Alhaji Lukman expressed satisfaction with the performance of the oil sector of the nation's economy in the outgoing year.

On the supply of gas to NEPA by NNPC, the minister said the corporation would do whatever it can to help the organisation out of its gas supply problems.

08309

Emerging Friendly Relations Between RSA, Equatorial Guinea Decried 34000352a Lagos DAILY TIMES in English

31 Dec 87 p 6

[Text] When last year there were reports that racist South Africa was trying to establish some friendly relations with our South-Eastern neighbour. Equatorial Guinea, the latter promptly denied any such development. But recent reports indicate that not only are the two countries on friendly terms, but that their chumminess is being strengthened. The presence of the racists has been confirmed by our envoy to that country. They are reported to be undertaking some "development aid programmes" there.

We view with considerable disquiet our greatest enemy's presence at our door-step. The development in Equatorial Guinea constitutes a great security threat to Nigeria. For sure, the racists would not choose to be in that country for the fun of it. They are not there to help a poor Africa country out of its problems of under-development. Rather, because of our strong anti-apartheid stance, the racists wish to gain a foothold near enough to be able to intimidate us just as they have been doing to the frontline states. Secondly, because South Africa is a pariah in much of the international community, it is desperate to break its isolation by seeking to befriend any country, particularly those of Africa, that is ready to disregard principle in favour of so-called aid programmes.

We want our government to take drastic steps to discourage the love tango between the two countries. We are aware of the efforts made by the government to improve relations with Equatorial Guinea and to persuade that country that it is not wise to befriend South Africa. We easily recall the invitation of President Obiang Nguema Mbasago on a state visit to Nigeria and a follow-up months later by his wife. Also, we have in recent years, given a lot of economic assistance to that country, all to enhance our relationships and to dissuade her from looking up to Pretoria for aid.

Since all these efforts seem to have failed to make Equatorial Guinea see reason, we urge the government to tell that country's government in unequivocal terms that Nigeria is not happy with South Africa's presence in that country. It should be told that there are better ways to get economic assistance from Nigeria than its apparent arm-twisting tactics of befriending our enemy with the hope of extracting greater concessions. Equatorial Guinea should also be made aware of the point that by having any relationship whatsoever with South Africa, it is violating an OAU resolution to isolate the racist. If all these fail to make any impression, Nigeria should declare Equatorial Guinea an enemy and employ all tactics to make life uncomfortable for that country. Afterall, your enemy's friend is your enemy.

Nigeria can go a step further by lobbying other African countries to expel Equatorial Guinea from the OAU for violating the organisation's resolution.

Local Government Elections Marred by Confusion; Incidents Described 34000304a Ikeja NEWSWATCH in English 28 Dec 87 pp 16-20, 22

[Article by Chuks Iloegbunam with Nosa Igiebor and Robert Egbi, Segun Adeleke, Mercy Otu, Joseph Pius, Ose Omijeh, Emeng Udosen, Gbemi Odejimi, Chris Ekam and Israel Wilson in Lagos State. John Ebri at NEC headquarters; Anietie Usen in Dodan Barracks and Lagos State NEC secretariat; Onome Osifo-Whiskey in Borno State, Bala Dan Abu in Benue and Plateau states, Kola Ilori in Ondo and Oyo states, Austen Oghuma and Ben Edokpayi in Bendel State, Son Ehi Asuelimen in Kano and Kaduna states, and Peter Ishaka in Calabar, Owerri and Onitsha]

[Text] The first barrage of complaints hit the Tafawa Balewa Square, Lagos, headquarters of the National Electoral Commission, NEC, as early as 10 a.m. on election day, December 12. The complaints were about lateness in the commencement of voting in most parts of the country. But once balloting began, shouting matches ensued between frustrated voters and electoral officers who tried to explain the causes of delay to the voters.

Voters alleged sabotage because of the muddled voters' registers and the unavailability of polling materials. Things took a dangerous turn when the voters raised alarm, claiming that ballot-boxes had disappeared. At the Sabo town centre in Badagry local government area of Lagos State, the atmosphere was tense. Maria Savage, the presiding officer, screamed herself hoarse in an unsuccessful bid to reassure the voters that no ballot-boxes were missing.

Gradually but steadily, the angry crowd surged towards the building where voting was taking place, threatening to tear down the barricades. Longinus Onyechi, a police sergeant, and a constable posted there to maintain order were outmanned. "The crowd is unruly and they have been threatening to beat us up," Onyechi said, "but we are trying our best."

NEC's best at Sabo and, indeed, at uncountable other polling centres, was unfortunately poor. To the endless shouts of "comport yourselves and line up" by Savage, hundreds of card-clenching arms swayed in the air as their owners protested their inability to vote. The crowd could hardly determine which registers contained their names as it was clearly impossible to organise proper and orderly voting in the bedlam.

At Mushin, Lagos, the situation was even more desperate. Daleko market polling station on Isolo road was unmanned throughout the duration of balloting. "Why did NEC forget to send officials to a polling booth it approved?" asked Esther Eshua, a resident of the area. Gwandu Gussau, another registered voter, thought he knew the answer. He said he was convinced that the absence of the NEC officials was a ploy to allow some

candidates return already stuffed ballot-boxes for counting. He claimed that this was because some tribally-motivated people were bent on preventing former NTA reporter, Usman Muktari, from winning the Mushin local government chairmanship race.

"Another problem cropped up at Mushin. At the Igbo-Owo secondary school polling station near Papa Ajao, voting started at 11.30 a.m. and ended two hours later because, according to the electoral officials, "our supply of ink was exhausted." By the time a fresh supply of ink arrived, it was 3 p.m., and voting had ended officially.

All these directly prevented a large number of people from voting, fuelling doubts about NEC's preparedness for the elections. Josephine Akhigbe, wife of Lagos State governor Mike Okhai Akhigbe, could not vote. She did not find her name on any register. Adeyinka Oyekan, the Oba of Lagos, shuttled between Saint Patrick's School, Idumagbo, where he registered, and two other centres without locating his name. Sulu Gambari, the Emir of Ilorin, was not luckier. He did not vote either.

By 2 p.m., NEC headquarters was flooded with complaints and protests pouring in from every part of the country. Tonnie Iredia, NEC's director of public affairs, was flustered. "There are so many places where we have had problems," he told Newswatch. "It is so difficult to understand why our people have decided to behave in this way in some of the areas. All the materials got to the states in good time, so I can't understand why it has been difficult getting voting materials across to the people."

Michael Adole, Benue State's electoral commissioner, shared Iredia's bewilderment. Adole could not explain the long delays that preceded voting in many parts of the state, especially in Makurdi, the state capital, and Gboko. He said that election materials were dispatched to all areas of the state on the eve of election day to ensure that it kicked off promptly at 8 a.m.

In many state capitals, the governors personally intervened to salvage the situation. Ahmed Abdullahi, former Kwara State governor, summarily fired Muyideen Bello, the electoral officer for Ilorin local government area, and Olayinka Gambari, his administrative officer. In addition, the two men, who had been seconded to NEC from the state's ministry of local government, were handed over to officials of the State Security Service SSS, for interrogation on why voting materials signed by them did not get to their destination.

Another NEC official, who was fired for the same reason, was D.S. Odiase, the electoral officer in charge of the Oredo local government area of Bendel State. Governor John Mark Inienger, angry that Odiase had ballot-boxes stored at Eghosa College, Benin City, while voters waited endlessly for materials, ordered that he be handed over to the SSS and charged with sabotage.

In certain places where governors were not immediately on hand to restore order, disappointed voters and impatient candidates fought with electoral officials and destroyed ballot-boxes and tore ballot-papers.

At the Ezenwa/New Market road polling centre in Onitsha, Anambra State, Newswatch counted 27 destroyed ballot-boxes. Destruction of NEC materials also took place at Fegge. The frustrated voters, after staging a protest march in the town, went to the Onitsha local government offices on Awka road. By the time they left, the place was in shambles, strewn with boxes, voters' registers and other NEC materials that were destroyed.

Alarm finally set in at the NEC headquarters in Lagos. All along, Eme Awa, NEC chairman, and his principal officials, had consistently told concerned Nigerians that the conduct of the local government elections and all subsequent ones would come through without major problems. Well-meaning Nigerians, who called for a postponement of the first election, were told it could be managed within the obviously short time and tight schedule NEC set for itself.

When Awa addressed media men in Lagos, October 5, he acknowledged that "the time at our disposal for organising the first election is very short." Yet, he said a postponement was out of the question because "some of those who now make the demand and some other people are likely to charge the government with the offence of betrayal of hope and trust. They will readily make the inference that if government can lightly renege on its promise in respect of the implementation of one aspect of the programme of transition, it can do likewise in respect of other aspects of the programme. Some will infer from this that the government is likely to change its departure from 1992 to some other time."

Even as recently as December 8, NEC was still very optimistic that it could hold an election that would be fair and free enough to command general acceptance. When journalists wanted to know how NEC intended to ensure that the 72 million registered voters voted within seven hours—between 8 a.m. and 3 p.m.—Tonnie Iredia said: "We are ready. Everything is set for the elections and nothing can stop us."

When the crunch came December 12, it instantly became obvious that almost nothing was set and that both "will-power" and "effective organisation," which NEC laid claims to, were in very short supply. Thus, instead of sitting back to receive results and beam to the eager nation as would have been the case if things had worked out well, Awa and his lieutenants barricaded themselves inside their NEC offices for an emergency meeting.

After sitting for an hour—the meeting ended at 2.45 p.m., when it was 14 minutes to the close of polls—Iredia, looking harried, ran out. He meandered his way through about 20 anxious reporters and grabbed a correspondent of the Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria, FRCN. "I have been

trying to call your office for some time," he gasped and immediately steered the man to a Radio Nigeria vehicle. And then he pleaded: "Run to your station, please, and ask them to announce an extension of the election time by one hour in Lagos, Burutu and Agbazilo in Bendel State and Akure in Ondo State."

That was the first clear indication that NEC had finally accepted that its "neat" arrangements for the polls had gone wrong. As it turned out, most people, including electoral officers, did not even hear of the extension of time. By 3 p.m., therefore, the ground was set for the eruption of chaos and, in some cases, violence.

The worst riots took place in Ketu and Ojota, which are in the Somolu local government area of Lagos State. In those places, voters besieged polling booths as early as 6.30 p.m. Polling clerks and presiding officers arrived in good time too. But not the ballot-boxes and other election materials which, in most cases, never arrived until polling stopped. Voting hardly took place in Ketu, Ojota and Mende areas of the local government. Of the 17 boxes expected at the Ogudu grammar school polling centre, for instance, none arrived before 4 p.m. Again, of the 18 expected at Mende, only nine were delivered.

The crowd went wild when it discovered that some of the boxes were stuffed with ballot-papers even though voting had hardly taken place. In the ensuing rampage, the mob, which started chanting war songs, manhandled a police inspector and a constable. The crowd poured into the eight-lane Ikorodu road and made bonfire of old motor tyres at the Mende and Ketu ends of the expressway.

The police, outnumbered and rendered impotent by the mob, stood passively as seven vehicles were burnt down. The mob made for the Kosofe area office of the local government and shattered the louvre windows in the buildings. They also took away electric fans and chairs from the offices.

Each place they got to, the electoral officials took to their heels, abandoning the materials that had been made available to them for the mob to set ablaze. Because of the blockade on Ikorodu road, a traffic bottleneck stretched on either side of the road, creating chaos at the Ibadan-Lagos expressway.

At the Ketu bus-stop, the mob, among whom were a large number of children under ten years and women, dared the police. But because of last month's riots in Lagos, triggered off by the shooting of two brothers by a mobile policemen, the police applied an unusual degree of restraint and retreated into their station opposite the bus-stop. A police helicopter flew past the troubled area nearly 20 times but never touched down. The critical situation and numerous petitions on the election forced Kayode Cadmus, the Lagos State electoral commissioner, to issue a hurriedly handwritten press statement which he later broadcast on the state television. Said Cadmus: "Reports reaching me from all over the state

have shown that all have not been well since voting started today. The electoral commission in Lagos State has received various complaints ranging from lateness of officials to polling stations, organised shortages of ballot materials to acts of vandalism." He appealed for calm, promising that all complaints received by his commission "will be thoroughly considered and investigated."

In Akure, Olu Daramola, a retired colonel and NEC's commissioner for Ondo State, wasted no time in calling for the cancellation of the election in the Akure local government areas. "A situation where anybody just walked into an electoral office to pick ballot-boxes and go away cannot be accepted as election here," he said. He vowed that any election results sent to him by Dare Adejuyigbe, the electoral officer for Akure, would not be accepted.

On the night before the elections. Ekundayo Opaleye, until last Tuesday the governor of Ondo State, broadcast to the people of the state. With the large-scale violence that attended the 1983 elections in the state at the back of is mind, Opaleye called on the people to refrain from thing that would lend credence to the impression that they were "violent and uncivilised."

Just 20 hours after his state-wide broadcast, violence broke out at Iyin-Ekiti in the Ekiti Central local government area and home of Adeyinka Adebayo, a retired major-general and former military governor of Western State. Sunday Amusa, 27, a polling agent for Aduke Akeju, a chairmanship candidate, and others were prevented from alighting from their car by a gang of rioters who shattered the car's windscreen and stabbed Amusa. Police arrested Theophilus Adelusi in connection with the incident. An unspecified number of o, or arrests for hooliganism and election malpractices were made by the police.

At Ikoyi, a town between Oyo and Ogbomosho in Oyo State, there was violence too. At least 20 people, including Olalere Solomon, the presiding officer for the area, suffered serious injuries from frustrated voters protesting alleged election malpractices. Solomon is now on danger list at the Ogbomosho state hospital. At Ikire, in the Irewole local government area of the state. Pade Adeyemo, a chairmanship aspirant, ran out of patience while waiting to be declared the winner. He moved into one of the booths in the constituency and, helped by his supporters, carted away ballot-boxes, ballot-papers and other voting materials. He is still chatting with the police.

By Sunday, December 13, John Abiri, the NEC commissioner for Oyo State, thoroughly worn out, said, "some Nigerians" were always eager to apportion blame without thinking of the efforts that had gone into any specific project. Abiri, however, admitted that Ibadan had problems, more specifically with the non-availability of voting materials. At the ward 26, E8/9 testing ground Iwo road, there were no forms for the elections of a chairman. There were no ballot-papers for the ward which had registered 510 voters.

Segun Phillips, a polling officer, and Oke Oluwole, the presiding officer for the ward, narrowly escaped being lynched by an irate crowd that struck at 5 p.m. A particularly incensed voter kept threatening to walk across to the nearby Total petrol station to buy petrol to set Phillips ablaze if he did not get to vote.

Olajumoke Walker, a ward six councillorship aspirant, told Newswatch at the state secretariat of NEC that ballot-papers bearing her number were not made available in all the polling stations in her constituency. She remained in the secretariat for a long time, fuming and calling for the head of NEC officials.

However, it was at the Mapo Hall that all electoral laws were completely thrown overboard. While results were being collated for the chairmanship and councillorship contestants, some people approached polling clerks with money to falsify the scores. What was more puzzling was that election materials were destroyed less than 24 hours after voting. Mapo Hall and the various counting centres were littered with envelopes, used and unused, ballot-papers, forms for returning results and ink pads, the same things that were not available at some polling stations.

Reports of the various malpractices forced governor Adetunji Olurin to address the people of the state for the second time in one day. He appealed for calm "inspite of the discrepancies and irregularities that accompanied the election." The first time Olurin broadcast to the people, he directed commercial vehicle drivers to get back on the roads. He had heard from the state radio that voters stayed off voting centres because they did not want to contravene NEC order banning inter-local government travels.

As a matter of fact, the strange NEC order banning inter-local government tours came too late in the day, and it was misunderstood by a majority of the people who suffered untold hardship because of it. In Kano, NEC officials, too, suffered in this regard. They had to walk for long distances, to convey electoral materials to where they were needed. Eligible voters who registered at their places of work suddenly became immobile and were unable to go and vote because there was no public transport. A Newswatch team travelling from Maiduguri to Biu, a distance of 187 kilometres, found no other vehicle on the road!

Meanwhile, as dusk approached fast in Lagos, NEC officials were again meeting behind closed doors. By 11 p.m., Iredia reemerged to hint that elections in some states could be cancelled. When the meeting ended in the small hours of Sunday morning, Eno Irukwu, a NEC commissioner, confirmed Iredia's initial statement. Awa avoided talking to the press. But millions of Nigerians felt that Awa owed the nation an explanation for the chaotic way the election was conducted. Iredia later told newsmen that the NEC chairman would broadcast to the nation Sunday evening, but he didn't.

When Awa later tried to explain the electoral problems, he laid the blame at the doorstep of banned politicians. His explanation was greeted either with scepticism or utter contempt. Governor Inienger told Dodan Barracks correspondents that he did not think the electoral confusion had a thing to do with banned politicians. Ahmed Abdullahi, his former Kwara State counterpart, told the same team of correspondents that blaming it on the banned politicians amounted to "chasing shadows."

Augustus Aikhomu, the chief of general staff, told State House correspondents in Dodan Barracks that the conduct of the election was "quite satisfactory." His was the first official reaction to the contentious exercise. "Given the fact that NEC had just four months to prepare for the elections, I think their performance was above average," said the vice admiral. He added that the only problems that "may have existed" were "logistic," and that "NEC will surely learn from their experiences last week and improve their performance in subsequent elections."

All the state governors, who were in Dodan Barracks to attend the sixth and final National Council of State meeting for 1987, also praised NEC. Even Ahmed Abdullahi, who had summarily dismissed two NEC officials on election day, descried the conduct of the election as "commendable." The impression was inevitably created that the governors, most of whom had expressed dismay on the conduct of the election, had changed their minds.

Abubakar Umar, governor of Kaduna State, drawing a parallel with polls in developing countries, said that the election in his state was "fairly smooth, despite logistic problems." According to him, "elections are not perfect anywhere in the world—not even in America and Britain."

Olurin said the important thing about the election in his state was that "it was devoid of violence and bloodshed." Describing the state's electorate as orderly and patient, Olurin said that "by all standards, Oyo State performed well in the election."

More superlatives for NEC were to come. Lawrence Onoja, a colonel and governor of Plateau State, conceded that there were "some confusion" in the Lafia local government area of the state, which is already being investigated. He had gone round about six local government areas to calm down nerves frayed by the poorly organised election. The strategy paid off. "Overall," said Onoja, "I would say that the election was excellent."

However, alternative opinions, strongly held, abound among candidates and well-meaning electoral officials who were beaten up for lapses which were not of their own making. In Calabar, not even the admonition of Governor Ibim Princewill could move the lethargic NEC. While commissioning the NEC Calabar secretariat, which has no telephone. December 11, Princewill told Ewa Eko, the state's electoral commissioner, that NEC should look at the election as "a test of their readiness for

the big ones ahead." He warned that acts of "thuggery and vandalism, which characterised previous electoral processes, will not be tolerated." He, too, was disappointed about most of the ills that plagued the election throughout the nation.

Victor Etta, a former chairman of the Calabar municipal government, described the election as "a sham and worse than the 1983 elections." He said that NEC dampened the enthusiasm of the people by shoddy arrangement. "It showed their incompetence. They were ill-prepared mediocres who are out of touch with modern management techniques," he said.

At the Mann primary school polling centre in Owerri, the crowd was unmanageable. Some zealous Man O'War Bay boys occasionally applied the whip in a vain attempt to keep the place in order. The disorder spread across the city as voting materials simply were not supplied in good time. Some NYSC members deployed to conduct the polls sat by, waiting for the "tools of the trade" while reading NEC manuals to prepare themselves for what to do when polling eventually began.

Attempts by Newswatch to reach C. Emezi, the Imo State NEC commissioner, failed because his aides firmly stood between him and newsmen. One of them said: "The commissioner cannot see you, knowing what the situation is out there."

The situation in Kano and Kaduna states were equally far below expectation. Women in purdah formed their own lines and waited for the polling to start in most places. In some cases, voting did not start until well past 12 noon. Electoral materials arrived the polling centre in front of the Emir of Zaria's palace at 11 a.m. Yet the palace is less than a minute walk from NEC offices. Sani Hamza, the electoral officer in charge of Zaria, told Newswatch that the delay in the release of voting materials was deliberate. He explained: "When people are given sensitive electoral materials early, they divert them somewhere to perfect rigging. We have to save our necks."

In Kano metropolis, voting materials reached the polling booths late, even though they had been distributed eight hours before election time.

In villages, identification of the contestants proved difficult as NEC's identification bars proved unhelpful to the people. In Lagos, Aikhomu voted for the man who posted his campaign bill close to his residence. He said the candidate, who got his vote, showed "courage" and that the candidate's programmes tallied with those of the federal government. President Babangida read manifestoes before exercising his option. Kunle Aderemi, a jobless auto-engineer in Festac Town, Lagos, had little time for literature. Once he decided that the candidate who promised regular water supply in Festac within 24 hours of his election was a fraud, he turned to the others and studied their images on the posters. He picked his man after five minutes.

But in Borno State, literature was not the easiest way to pick a candidate, given the low literacy rate. Ibrahim Alli, the winner of the Maiduguri metropolitan chairmanship, told Newswatch that he discarded the idea of printing his manifesto and opted to talk to the people directly. Asked Ibrahim: "Even if I produced a manifesto in colourful English, who will read it in an illiterate community, like this one?"

Nonetheless, there were posters on neam and baobab trees. Where this failed to do the trick to help a voter make a decision, the candidates were questioned. One question asked by an old woman caused a prolonged laughter from voters in Kano. She asked: "Ina PRP?" (where is PRP?).

Although the election was conducted on non-party basis, manoeuvres in many areas demonstrated that old habits die hard and that entrenched allegiances require more than executive fiat to obliterate. But while sponsoring candidates, the politicians operated "under cover," being mindful of the summary disqualification which partisanship attracted. Suddenly, therefore, clearly politically-conscious associations started to materialise. Two of them were the Calabar Municipal Development Association and the Calabar Development Union. In Bendel State, there were the Orhionwon Social Club and the Liberty Club.

If the social clubs generally distributed money to marketwomen, communities, hangers-on and the jobless to solicit for votes, sectarian affiliations went one step further. In Plateau State, the issue of religion was a critical factor in the election. Newswatch learned that the Christian Association of Nigeria, CAN, became a useful platform for rallying support for Christian candidates. On Sunday, December 6, services in most churches in the state featured political campaigns as candidates were taken round churches and presented to congregations.

Musa Ndali, a member of the Church of Brethern Mission in Jos, told Newswatch that the Christians put their lot together in reaction to the utterances of Abubakar Mahmud Gumi, the noted Islamic scholar, a few months ago that Moslems would not vote for Christians. The Moslems, too, did not take things for granted. Conscious of their numerical inferiority in Plateau, they resorted to methodical campaigns and effective mobilisation of their supporters. During the registration exercise, all disabled people in Jos, who may not have bothered to register, were organised in groups and conveyed to registration centres. The same people were collected on election day and driven to the voting centres.

Dan Asabe, a wealth imam in Jos, said at the Jos railway station polling centre that the Moslems were organised to push their interest, especially as CAN openly campaigned in churches.

As the election chaos spread December 12, surprises seemed to have been reserved only for electoral officials like Baghwarhe Ekhrebe, the public relations officer of

NEC in Bendel State, who had told Newswatch on the eve of the election that "we are very prepared. All the materials have gone out to the 19 local government areas of the state." After the election, however, Ekhrebe confessed that things did not really go well as was expected. He said NEC officials in Benin were "surprised" that materials which they sent out as early as December 8 did not get to voters on election day.

There was even more cause for concern in NEC. Benin City. By Monday, December 14, Ekhrebe was still saying that the voting situation in Warri had not been reported to Benin City. "Throughout Saturday (December 12), we did not hear from the electoral officer there. We sent a series of radio messages to him to give us a situation report. We even threatened that the electoral commissioner, Pius Sada, was coming to investigate his activities. We never heard from him," he said.

The overall success of NEC in the December 12 local government election may well be gauged by the fact that five days after voting stopped, less than a quarter of the results had been released. In the time-table for the election released September 4 in Lagos, NEC had slated polls and counting of votes for December 12. The announcement of results were to have taken place between December 12 and 13.

Awa told Newswatch December 16 that the delay in releasing the results was partly due to communication and logistic problems. As at December 17, results of the elections were still being released by NEC in bits and pieces. Awa emphasised that only NEC headquarters in Lagos could release the results, which meant that all the

results would first be collated at local government levels, authenticated by the state electoral commissions, and then sent to Lagos for final confirmation.

Late December ... NEC cancelled the entire election in Lagos as was widely expected because of the large-scale malpractices that attended it. It said the election would be reconducted at a date to be announced later. He blamed the malpractices in Lagos on deliberate sabotage by mischievous elements, many of whom allegedly worked in concert with banned politicians who selected and approved most of the candidates in Lagos State. Said Awa: "We think it (was) deliberate. It was planned well in advance."

One clear example of the sabotage, according to Awa, was the gerrymandering of constituencies in the state few days before the election by officials of the state's ministry of local government. Gerrymandering is the process of deliberate redrawing of constituencies to increase the electoral chances of favoured candidates. "Some people we do not know carried out this exercise and sprang a surprise to cause confusion deliberately. And they succeeded," Awa said.

Much of the confusion that ensued in Lagos on election day was caused by the sudden redistribution of polling centres with the result that thousands of voters could not locate their new centres as they had thought that they would vote at the centres where they were registered.

Awa's broadcast to the nation December 20, may have assuaged the feelings of millions of Nigerians who could not vote, but it offered only promises and not enough assurance that the shoddy performance of the National Electoral Commission could be bettered in the subsequent elections that would usher in the third republic. What is clear, however, is that the December 12 election was arguably an expensive flop.

08309

POLITICAL

Newly Elected Azapo President Speaks of Future 34000266a Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 24 Dec 87 p 5

[Article by Sello Rabothata]

[Text] Political practice of the nature that South Africa had in the last 2 years has been driven more by an uninformed, uneducated confidence that originates from the belief that this country is just about to fall.

This emerged in an intervie with the re-elected president of the Azanian People's Organisation, Mr Nkosi Molala, on Tuesday. He was speaking on the struggle that his organisation was facing in the years ahead which, he said, cannot be divorced from the years past—because it is the experiences of the years past that shape the years ahead.

Mr Molala said most people believe that liberation is just about to come. "But that type of attitude of belief has been shattered by a concrete reality—a concrete reality which has proven that liberation will not come because people say it has come. Liberation has to be worked for," he said.

He said liberation in Azapo's context is a protracted process. It is a process that is going to take a very long time.

Mr Molala said: "The struggle for change is a protracted struggle. Liberation is not just around the corner because the present regime and the security forces are all powerful and have not been dented. Those instruments are still able to move about in our townships. They are still protecting some of their minnions in our townships. The time has not come for them to protect those areas that are crucial and those areas that are crucial are not in black townships.

"So that it is against that background that one has to look at the years to come. The years to come therefore contain in them the potential for change of a qualitative nature in the approach to the struggle. In the approach to the struggle basically as a result of the realisation on the part of our people.

"We believe the realisation will compel our people to reassess their strategies in the struggle and once that happens we believe a qualitative new approach will evolve. We need to move away from anarchy and into a more disciplined form of approach."

He said Azapo also believes that change cannot come in one single way or approach, but that there should be a multi-faceted approach. It believes that pressure must be mounted and brought to bear on the Government by forces of opposition in a variety of ways. Azapo also understands why other organisations have opted for the struggle and believes these were placed in this position by the regime.

Mr Molala said in the 10 years since its re-emergence, the black consciousness movement has had to contend with fierce and rabid opposition.

The first was of verbal and theoretical nature and when this failed, it was physical extirpation. The present form has assumed the form of financial strangulation.

He said the whole spectrum of institutions that receive and distribute money for relief and for programmes to aid victims of apartheid has decided that the black consciousness adherents are not victims of the apartheid system and therefore do not qualify to benefit from such relief.

The organisation is presently surviving on subscriptions from members and donations from black business people, according to Mr Molala. He said most of the people to whom international bodies send money belong to a particular political tendency. These are the very people who have to decide how the money is distributed and it is under these conditions that requests from the black consciousness movement for relief and projects are considered.

He was, however, optimistic that in a very short spell of its existence, Azapo has succeeded in placing socialism on the agenda for national self-determination. The challenge for the future, he believed, remains in the consolidation of this achievement. The struggle will be long and arduous.

He said this success was the reason why the Azanian Manifesto was banned by the Government, because it brought socialism to the people. Azapo has not taken the banning lying down and has made legal representations in connection with the order.

/9604

UCCP Becomes First Black Party to Accept National Statutory Council

34000371c THE NEW NATION in English 21-27 Jan 88 p 5

[Text] The first black "party" to announce its intention of taking part in the government's National Statutory Council was launched in Port Elizabeth at the weekend—at a rally attended by about 130 people.

According to a municipal policeman, who asked not to be named, over 60 members of the crowd were municipal cops in plain clothes. He said they had been hired by the former mayor of the Ibhayi City Council, Tamsanqa Linda, to protect him during the launch of a local branch of the United Christian Conciliation Party (UCCP).

Hounded

Linda was hounded out of the PE townships early in 1986 after calling for the banning of the United Democratic Front and threatening to withhold housing from trade unionists.

At one stage, he evicted a widow and occupied her house.

The launch of the UCCP branch in kwaZakhele on Sunday is part of his bid to reestablish himself in as a political force in PE.

At the launch, Linda again attacked the UDF and what he described as its "politics of polarisation", saying that blacks were being manipulated by "foreign forces".

The UDF and the ANC misled children, and were given credit they did not deserve, he claimed.

Turning to the Progressive Federal Party, he said the PFP was "using blacks in the townships because of its frustrations in parliament".

He said the UCCP, of which he is a founder member, aimed at "bringing about political change in South Africa and a negotiated settlement for all groups". This would happen when the party represented blacks "in parliament" in October this year.

Linda declared that he was recognised overseas as an authentic black leader in the same league as Govan Mbeki, and was a threat to the ANC.

In a statement issued at the meeting, he said that the founding of the UCCP, which aimed "to extend and broaden reforms which the government has already undertaken," had been "a severe blow to radicals and revolutionaries."

/9274

Political Analyst Reveals Growing Division Within National Party on Reform 34000371b Durban THE DAILY NEWS in English 13 Jan 88 p 15

[Text] In spite of Government rejection of the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba, there is still massive support among National Party voters for proposals for provincial powersharing, according to a recent survey.

The survey, conducted last month by Research Surveys (Pty) Ltd in six major metropolitan Natal constituencies, endorses previous surveys conducted by Markinor which

also indicated extensive support among Nationalists for the Indaba proposals. This has been vigorously denied by Natal Nationalists, particularly Mr Renier Schoeman, the MP for Umhlanga.

Ironically, the Umhlanga area showed the most support for the Indaba, according to the poll, eclipsing even the Progressive Federal Party constituencies of Durban Central, Durban North and Pinetown, as well as other Nationalist seats of Pietermariztburg North and Umbilo.

According to the survey, which covered a random representative sample of 1,002 white voters, 54 percent of the people canvassed supported the Indaba proposals as opposed to 13 percent who rejected them, with 21 percent remaining neutral and the remainder falling into the "don't know" category.

Breaking this down to political affiliations, 40 percent of NP voters said they supported the proposals with 23 percent opposing and 37 percent non-committed.

In the Nationalist-held constituencies of Pietermartizburg North, Umbilo and Umhlanga, the Indaba "for" and "against" rations were 54:9, 41:23 and 64:6 respectively.

In response to the question: "Is the Indaba important not just for Natal, but for South Africa as a whole?", 60 percent agreed, 18 percent disagreed and 21 percent "didn't know." Once again, in this category Umhlanga had the highest "yes" vote of all six constituencies with 72 percent.

Despite this, the survey also found a strong swing among Natal voters towards the National Party, with 40 percent of respondents saying they would vote Nationalist in a future election, 21 percent PFP, 15 percent the Independents, four percent Conservative Party and three percent each for the National Democratic Movement and the New Republic Party. Thirteen percent were non-committed.

Reacting to the survey results. Indaba director Professor Dawid van Wyk said they were gratified for several reasons.

Not only had the survey corroborated results of previous surveys conducted by other research organisations, but it also showed that the Indaba support-base among white voters had expanded—despite the belief that the May 6 election results had been a serious set-back.

"But mainly they show the degree of our acceptance within the National Party continues to grow steadily. Being aware as we are of the critical importance of Governmental approval of our proposals, we cannot help but be pleased by confirmation of the extent of NP voter support for the Indaba and change generally."

Survey Reveals Massive Support for Indaba Among National Party Voters 340000371a Durban THE DAILY NEWS in English 21 Jan 88 p 7

[Article by Graham Spence]

[Text] Behind the united front of the National Party following their enormous election success last year, there is a growing behind-the-scenes division on the question of reform, according to veteran political analysist, Dr Wimpie de Klerk.

Writing in the magazine Leadership, the former editor of Rapport who coined the phrases verligte and verkrampte, said there was increasing ferment within party ranks on what lay around "the next corner."

Dr de Klerk is the brother of the NP Transvaal leader, Mr F. W. de Klerk, and regarded as one of the most astute interpreters of true NP thinking.

He said that the party was unquestionably in a period of political transition with two loosely-defined factions forming—the "conservative reformers" and the "radical reformers."

The conservative reformers are currently by far in the majority, and wish to maintain the status quo in content, style and tempo. They are only prepared to compromise within the present framework with the emphasis on gradual change.

However, the radical reformers have a far greater sense of urgency, and talk guardedly of a massive "leap of reform" to enable a move towards real negotiations with black leaders. They believe that current negotiations for constitutional settlement are failing with neither Kwa-Zulu leader Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi or Deputy Minister of Constitutional Planning Mr Stoffel van der Merwe delivering the goods.

Instead, they are talking of a prenegotiation Declaration of Intent which would be discussed beforehand with a cross-section of black leaders.

According to Dr de Klerk, the Declaration of Intent—which deviates significantly from official NP thinking—would be roughly as follows:

 All stated preconditions for negotiations should be met (including the release of Nelson Mandela), providing black communities co-operate as partners in maintaining law and order;

 The Government should regard itself as a government of transition, and that the regulation process must take place under its guidance. This guidance will have as its goal the scrapping of the present constitution and its replacement with representative government; Free association and disassociation should be envisaged around ideas and philosophies rather than race groups;

 Existing racial laws including the Race Classification Act would be scrapped once a new constitutional

model has been found and tested.

Dr de Klerk said although the radical reformists were still vague on details of implementation in this regard, there was a core consensus on two points: the rejection of any kind of race federation, and the urgent need for a leap of reform to further negotiations.

He said that there were about 18 radical reformers within the NP caucus and at least four in the Cabinet. Although this is not an impressive figure, one must remember that at least 22 percent of NP members were at one stage prepared to follow the Malan/Worrall/Lategan faction before the ignominious split of the Independent Movement.

There was no real leader of the radical reformist group at the moment, he said, but this was largely due to the intolerance and virtual "reign of terror" within the party by President P. W. Botha.

However, this could dramatically change once Mr Botha resigned. And this raised another interesting question: who would succeed him?

Frontrunners, according to Dr de Klerk, are Pik Botha, F. W. de Klerk, Chris Heunis, Magnus Malan, Gerrit Viljoen and Barend du Plessis.

Pik Botha, said Dr de Klerk, was a fearless, charismatic leader and a radical reformer capable of taking the risk leap toward complete powersharing. However, his detractors argue that he is too unstable, a loner in the caucus and with very few close followers surrounding him.

On the other hand, F. W. de Klerk is the "safe candidate", a conservative reformer who nevertheless is pragmatic enough to compromise.

/9274

ECONOMIC

Public Sector Workers' Earnings Increase 34000267c Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 15 Jan 88 p 3

[Article by Gerald Reilly]

[Text] Pretoria—Earnings by public-sector workers will soon exceed R25bn a year if trends continue, Central Statistical Services (CSS) figures indicate.

They show that SA's sprawling public sector and its enormous cost in salaries and wages continue to grow.

At the end of the third quarter last year, the public sector employed 1,679.893, and in the July-September period they were paid R5,934bn.

Included in the "B public sector" are central government, provincial administrations, civil services of the self-governing territories, local authorities, parastatal organisations, universities and technikons, control boards, public corporations, Sats and the Post Office.

The payout for the third quarter is 1,9% higher than for the second quarter last year and 15,6% higher than for the first quarter.

The total payout to whites in the third quarter increased by 15% compared with the first quarter.

Increase

At the end of the third quarter, the central government and provincial administrations employed 726,077 compared with 669,480 for the same quarter in 1986—an increase of 8,5%.

Salaries and wages paid to them in the third quarter amounted to R2,533m—19.4% more than in the third quarter the year before.

CSS says the increase in employment can be ascribed to the transfer of members of the SA Railways Police to the SAP, as well as to the takeover of personnel of the 113 former development boards.

CSS figures show, also, that when Sats and Post Office workers are added to central government and provincial totals, the numbers employed rise to 1,012,423.

They were paid R3,634m in the third quarter—16,4% more than in the same period in 1986.

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Favorable Agricultural Prospects Continue 34000268a Johannesburg FINANCIAL MAIL in English 8 Jan 88 p 39

[Text] If current favourable agricultural conditions continue for the remainder of the summer-rainfall crop season, SA's farmers can look forward to an 8%-10%increase on last year's R12bn gross and R3,3bn net earnings.

Should conditions stabilise after the current heatwave, with regular follow-up rains, the sector could well contribute as much as 1% to the country's GNP this year.

South African Agricultural Union economist Koos du Toit says excellent early summer rains have created the best countrywide farming conditions since the start of the drought in 1982.

"Even the central Great Karoo, the far northern Transvaal, western Transvaal and other drought-stricken areas have received good rains and grazing conditions are generally good. While follow-up rains are now required, prospects at the moment are very favourable," he says.

Farmers in Natal, the Transvaal Lowveld, eastern Highveld and eastern, central and northern Free State are all looking forward to bumper crops, while western and southern Cape producers also expect excellent wheat, deciduous fruit and grape harvests.

And while good follow-up rains are needed in the "crunch months" February and March, the general outlook for maize, sunflower, sugar, subtropical, citrus and deciduous fruit, wine and export grapes, wheat, cotton, wool, red meat, milk, egg, chicken and vegetables is excellent at this stage.

A record 2,8 Mt wheat crop is being harvested and sugar farmers too expect a good growing season. Wool prices remain high, while citrus and deciduous fruit exports seem to be weathering the sanctions storm well. Red meat prices remain at record levels, boosting earnings.

Late plantings of maize in the western Transvaal mean that the young plants are more drought- and heatresistant and that damage from the current hot, dry conditions could be minimised.

The generally favourable situation should increase farm job opportunities and underpin rural economies which have suffered from the past five years of debilitating drought. In addition, manufacturers of major inputs like tractors, farm implements, fertiliser, chemicals and motor vehicles could also receive a boost from increased farm spending in 1988.

Lastly, long-suffering creditors, who have been buckling under the weight of the R14bn farm debt, could be in line for increased capital repayments over and above the annual R1,7bn farm interest bill.

In another significant development, maize farmers have been switching progressively away from the crop. This is an apparent response to the Maize Board's new flexible price scenario, which "rewards" lower crops with higher prices. An 8 Mt crop would attract a price of R205/t, while comparative producer prices for a 10 Mt and 6 Mt crop would be R176/t and R260/t.

Provisional planting statistics received by the co-ops show that between 800,000 and 1m ha of the traditional 4,3m ha maize croplands could have been withdrawn this year.

This major structural change could signal the beginning of the "golden years" predicted by Agriculture Minister Greyling Wentzel in his traditional Christmas and New Year message. The huge maize industry had been at the heart of the severe distortions in the marketing and pricing policies prevalent in agriculture—until government decided to embrace a more free market approach.

Uneconomical surpluses had to be exported at a loss, while the resultant high increases in local maize prices helped to slash more than 1 Mt off the 6 Mt/year local market.

The move away from maize plantings shows that farmers are finally responding to market signals—from which they had been protected by the board's fixed-price, one-channel marketing system and huge subsidies paid by taxpayers.

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EIU Report: "Sanctions Cause Perverse Political Results"

34000267b Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 14 Jan 88 pp 1, 2

[Article by Gerald Prosalendis]

[Text] Almost two thirds of SA's exports remain invulnerable to sanctions, but nonetheless the result of a prolonged sanctions effort against SA—while doing damage to the economy—would have perverse political results.

This is the thrust of a major report called Sanctions and SA. The Dynamics of Economic Isolation published by the British-based Economist Intelligence Unit. The report, compiled by noted liberal academic Merle Lipton, said early assessments of the impact of sanctions on SA were exaggerated because of a failure to allow for adjustments that would follow as a result of market forces and compensatory government policies.

Instead, sanctions had reduced the "political space" for South Africans and could impede the inter-racial political debate that was under way, reducing the changes of an evolutionary route to a post-apartheid SA.

Continued incremental sanctions were unlikely to unseat government and were more likely to impede that accelerate reform.

"They are also likely to ensure that this takes place in an even more authoritarian context.

"The central question of (the impact of sanctions) on SA has been largely unexplored." Rather the debate had focused on the case for international action and on the question of how sanctions might "work" in the technocratic sense of being adopted and enforce.

The multiplier induced effects of trade and investment embargoes could be mitigated by government policies. "Many governments have survived big reductions in their export earnings and GNP.

"There is less pessimism about trade bans because of the belief that about 60% of SA's exports, mainly of precious minerals and metal, are effectively unsanctionable, short of a blockade or international action on gold."

Attempts to embargo gold (R15,46bn 1985), diamonds (R2,16bn), platinum (R0,77bn), chrome (R0,54bn) and vanadium would probably stimulate a price rise, so that if the volume of exports fell, earnings could remain the same or even rise. Two other exports likely to escape embargoes were wool and paper and pulp.

The remaining 40% of exports, including most agricultural products, were more vulnerable to sanctions. Other exports in this category include coal (R3,13bn 1985), steel (R2,06bn), copper (R0,47bn), aluminum (R0,26bn), asbestos (R0,13bn) and fluorspar (R0,06bn).

Sugar (R0,28bn) and maize (R0,11bn) faced particularly difficult markets and manufactured exports were also vulnerable, but less important.

Sa was vulnerable to sanctions on its imports, though it had already reduced its dependence on oil. Some other imports could also be replaced, though opinions differed over the extent.

As a result of sanctions, unemployment could rise and, hence, inequalities, depending on government response.

It said employers had long opposed some apartheid policies and lobbied increasingly hard for change, but recently their influence had declined.

"There is most concern about the effects on capital flows though more labour-intensive strategies might ease this problem if the political obstacles can be overcome."

But, the assumption that SA needed foreign capital was based on the belief that it would continue on its path of capital-intensive growth.

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SBDC Faces Funding Crisis, Needs Government Assistance

34000267a Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 11 Jan 88 pp 1, 2

[Article by Linda Ensor and Jacques Magliolo]

[Text] The Small Business Development Corporation (SBDC), which is experiencing an alarming rise in bad debts, will have to scale down the level of its activities unless increased government funding is forthcoming.

A write-off of R16m in bad debts is projected for this year. Since its formation in 1981, and including the 1988 projection, a total of R29,7m in bad debts has been written off—or 6,8% of the total of R436,2m loaned.

SBDC MD Ben Vosloo says that as a result of this development and because the SBDC has come to the end of its expansionary period, the size of loans granted will have to be cut back. For instance, while in 1986/87 loans valued at R177,2m were granted, this year a projected R133m will be lent.

"Activities will have to be reduced by as much as one-third if government aid is not received," says Vosloo.

Compared with two years ago, when one in four applications for loans were approved, now only one in seven applications is being granted, he says.

Stricter criteria will be imposed and non-income services such as training and after-care will have to be curtailed.

"We cannot carry on with this level of bad debt write-off if we wish to continued existing," Vosloo says.

Until now, he says, a write-off of about 5% was regarded as a reasonable figure for the high risk/low return nature of SBDC's business, but anything beyond this would place the financial health of the SBDC "in jeopardy."

Profit margins are to low to carry a loss of this magnitude and the return on capital is not more than 5%.

With the rising level of bad debts, overhead expenditure has also risen dramatically and the SBDC now has to support a highly specialised staff of about 700 people.

New methods of financing the corporation are under consideration and the SBDC has requested government finance of R291,8m, spread over the next five years. This would start with R46,8m this year and grow at an annual rate of 20% to R74,4m in 1992.

Government is keen, as part of its privatisation initiative, for the SBDC to finance itself through borrowing, but because of the high-risk nature of its business, financial institutions have so far been reluctant lenders.

Vosloo insists that, despite its R8m monthly cash-flow, the SBDC in the long-term would not be able to function without government assistance, as the high rates of interest would be unserviceable and its gearing would become unmanageable.

"One cannot provide long-term finance with short-term loans," he says.

Government has agreed to provide guarantees for loans obtained from the private sector and, in principle, has supported the proposal to subsidise interest payments, though to what extent has yet to be decided.

However, a ceiling has been placed on the amount of loans government is to guarantee, further limiting funds available to the SBDC.

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Corruption, Maladministration in Transkei Costs Government Millions

34000275c Johannesburg THE NEW NATION in English 7-13 Jan 88 p 7

[Text] The last few years have been anything but cheap for Transkei—or South Africa.

The territory's own auditor general warned a few years back that its financial system would snap any day.

By 1984, the homeland's debt stood at R266,7-million. South Africa continues to pour millions collected from South African taxpayers into propping up the crumbling apartheid structure. It paid the homeland R572-million in its first three years of independence and another R101-million in the fourth year.

In 1985, Transkei received R616-million from a total of R1500-million set aside for the homelands. This was more than three times the average annual budget for the first four years. And there is no reason to believe that South Africa slowed down the rate of its financial support to the homeland.

Transkei's secretary of finance in the prime minister's department refused to give figures on what the homeland has received from South Africa in the past five years—but it must certainly run into billions.

At the same time, millions were lost through corruption, maladministration, and fraud. At one stage in 1985, a sum of R120-million was being investigated. High ranking officials had amassed huge capital and business interests.

Huge sums were also wasted in ridiculous schemes such as investigating the export of water to the Middle East and purchasing old machinery that never worked.

The government's explanation for the tall grass that had grown around trucks was the heavy "seasonal rains."

While South Africa was spending millions of rands—R13-million in 1984/85—to encourage businesses to decentralise and relocate in the homelands. Transkei was busy planning legislation to drive out non-Transkeian businessmen.

While these millions were being wasted and swindled, workers were being paid 28 cents an hour and infant mortality rates were reaching new peaks. A survey showed that one in every three Transkeian children died before they reached the age of two.

The cumulative effect of this gross form of political mismanagement has manifested in a fierce power struggle, military coup and martial law in Transkei—and mainly silence in Pretoria, which finances this decay.

08309

Companies Invest in Brazil Gold Mines 34000360c Paris THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER in English 16 Jan 88 p 8

[Passages in boldface/italics as published]

[Text] South African companies are investing heavily in Brazil's gold mines, whose production currently ranks sixth behind South Africa itself, the Soviet Union, the United States, Canada and Australia. Brazil has seen its bullion output double since the 1980s gold rush, and experts say it could be in top place by the first half of the 21st century. South African companies involved here include the giant Anglo-American Corporation as well as the Afrikaner-controlled Gencor concern. Anglo-American already holds a 49 per cent stake in Brazil's two top mines, Morro Velho and Jacobina, which together account for half of the gold produced in 1986.

A Rio de Janeiro-based gold consultant, Peter Rich, quoted by the South African press, estimated that between 1982 and 1992 some 800 million dollars would

have been invested in gold mining in Brazil, of which three-quarters would come from groups in which South African interests are strongly represented (500 million from concerns in which Anglo-American has a stake and 100 million from a company 49 per cent owned by Gencor). About 60 million is being contributed by a group which includes Britain's Rio Tinto Zinc, a company with large interests in South Africa and Namibia. RTZ is also reported to have a stake in the Crixas project in the central state of Golas, which industry analysts say is destined to become one of Brazil's biggest gold mines.

I.O.N: Faced with growing demands from militant black trade unions in South Africa, the country's mining companies seem to prefer investing in Brazil, where the industry is under-developed and resembles the American Wild West gold rush days. There are more than half a million underpaid and unskilled gold diggers living mostly in shacks without their families, who accounted for 57.6 tonnes, or 86 per cent of Brazil's total gold production, in 1986. There are no trade unions to interfere with mining profits and working conditions are among the worst in the world. Increased unemployment has brought thousands flocking to the gold fields in search of a living, and the profits from low wages in Brazil will make up for any losses incurred through rising wages and production costs for the companies in South Africa.

Region Introduces News Censorship 34000295c Dar es Salaam TANZANIA DAILY NEWS in English 28 Dec 87 p 3

[Text] Tanga Region has introduced news censorship to safeguard what the authorities termed the "good image" of the region.

Under the system all information about Government departments must be given through the regional development director's office, Shihata reported.

The regional development director, Idarous Abubakar, said in an interview in Tanga during the weekend that the move was intended to see that all news items released where to the advantage of the region.

The RDD was commenting on explanation by some heads of government departments, contacted by Shihata, for news, had said they were not allowed to give information unless permitted by the RDD.

"We cannot allow everybody to be a spokesman for the region, regardless of its worthiness to the region," he said.

He said newsmen should first contact him (the RDD) so that they could be directed to a departmental head for an interview. However, the news item should be seen by him before it is released.

Of late Shihata has had difficulties in covering development issues because unlike in the past officials were referring reporters to the RDD for clearance. However, in most cases the RDD has not been available because of his many official duties.

Cuba To Send More Professional Workers 34000275a Johannesburg THE STAR in English 11 Jan 88 p 11

[Text] Harare—Cuba will this year increase the number of its doctors, engineers and teachers working in Zimbabwe, the national news agency Ziana reports.

Addressing a news conference in Harare today, Cuba's ambassador to Zimbabwe, Mr Alfonso Fraga Perez, said the number of Zimbabweans studying in Cuba will by next year have been increased from 800 to 1,270.

Mr Perez said relations between the Communist Party of Cuba and Zanu-PF had been strengthened with the exchange of visits, more of which were expected later this year.

He also told journalists that Cuban troops in Angola would remain there for as long as they were needed.

Mr Perez told the conference, called to mark the 29th anniversary of the Cuban revolution, that Cuba would continue to fight against all forms of imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and exploitation.

"That is why we are ready to stay in Angola as long as its people and its government require our help, as long as the regime of apartheid exists in South Africa."

He said his country rejected any attempts to link the independence of Namibia to the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

08309

ZMDC General Manager Comments on Joint Mining Venture With Bulgaria 34000360b Harare THE FINANCIAL GAZETTE in English 8 Jan 88 p 1

[Passages in italics as published]

[Text] The Zimbabwe Mining Development Corporation (ZMDC) and the Bulgaria Economic and Engineering Corporation "Bulgargeomin," recently formed a jointly-owned mining venture, the Zimbabwe-Bulgaria Mining Company. It has a nominal capital of \$3.4m.

Records at the Companies Office in Harare showed that the company had been formed to prospect for, and mine rare metal pegmatities—a coarsely crystalline type of granite.

ZMDC general manager, Mr Michael Wakatama, said they would be prospecting in the Mutoko area. He told the *Gazette* it was still too early, however, to talk about the company's plans because there were details yet to be finalised.

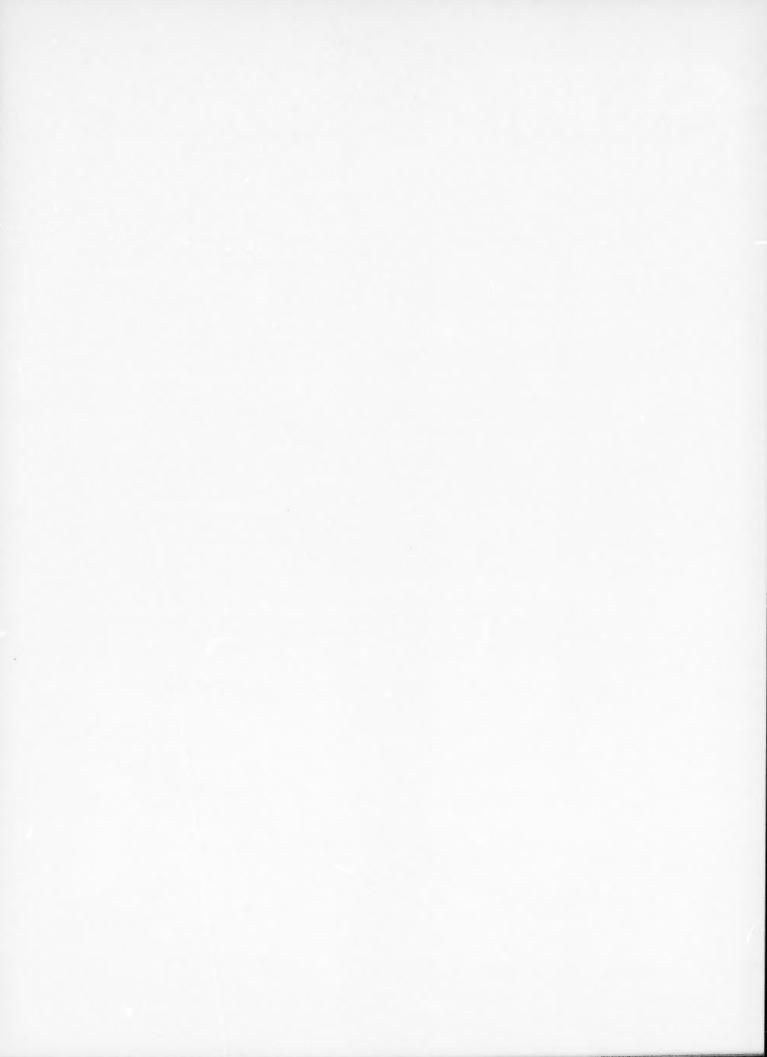
The Zimbabwe-Bulgaria Mining Company would search for, prospect, drill, mine, dredge, raise, wash and treat, crush, smelt, refine, reduce, amalgamate and prepare for the market—for sale or disposal—all metals, precious stones, rare metal pegmatites, minerals and mineral products.

It would carry on all or any of the business of consultants, miners, mining engineers, geologists, chemists, surveyors, drillers... in all or any of the branches and departments of such or allied businesses.

This company would also buy or otherwise acquire and deal in, sell or otherwise dispose of, base, rare and precious metals, stones, minerals and mineral products and manufacture metal and mineral products of every description, according to the Companies Office records.

The authorised share capital of the company was \$3,4m divided into 3,4m ordinary shares of \$1 each.

Its directors would be Mr Wakatama and Mr Nikola Karaboychev, president of Bulgargeomin, a Bulgarian state parastatal organisation.



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